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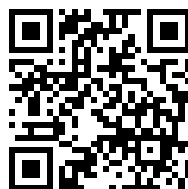
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THE GENESIS AND SOURCES
OF PIERRE CORNEILLE'S TRAGEDIES
FROM MÉDÉE TO PERTHARITE

THE JOHNS HOPKINS STUDIES IN ROMANCE LITERATURES
AND LANGUAGES

VOLUME III

THE GENESIS AND SOURCES
OF PIERRE CORNEILLE'S TRAGEDIES
FROM MÉDÉE TO PERTHARITE

BY

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TO MY WIFE

Sara Maynadier Waters Riddle

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INTRODUCTION

The following study deals with the genesis and sources of Corneille's tragedies from *Médée* to *Pertharite* (1635-1651), from the dramatist's first attempt at the more serious form to his retirement from the stage for a period of some eight years. *Le Cid* is included since it has long been accepted as a tragedy, although when first presented it was not so designated. Before this period Corneille had written six comedies, but little is known of their genesis and literary sources. In the second, by far the most important period (*Médée* to *Pertharite*), as in the third, the plays are primarily based on literary sources. Corneille was a co-worker with a number of playwrights whose fame he subsequently eclipsed, but to whom he owed suggestions for the subjects of his plays. He kept in close touch with dramatic developments of his day and chose subjects which he thought would please the public, judging by the successes of his contemporaries. It was in this way that he turned to Seneca, to the Spanish drama, to histories, or wherever he might find themes like those of his rivals. Contemporary events seem to have played little part in suggesting subjects. This influence of the contemporary stage has been known to some extent, but it is only with the discovery of certain hitherto neglected sources that it appears as the dominant factor.

The principal new sources to which attention will be

called are Hardy's *Alcméon* (*Médée*) (1), Mairet's *Sophonisbe* (*Le Cid* and *Horace*) (2), Scudéry's *Mort de César* (*Cinna*, *Polyeucte*, and perhaps *Pompée*), Du Ryer's *Bérénice* (*Héraclius*), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Horace*) and the Life of Saint Agnes by Saint Ambrose (*Théodore*). The prototypes of Sabine (*Horace*) and Emilie (*Cinna*), hitherto considered Corneille's creations or erroneously explained, will be pointed out. It will be seen also that Corneille did not use in *Horace* the so-called Plutarch-Amyot *Life of Tullus Hostilius*.

When Marty-Laveaux published his edition of Corneille's works in 1862-68, he made a study of the sources of the plays. Since that time there has been no systematic attempt to complete the task so well begun, owing in part to the belief that Corneille, from whose critical works Marty-Laveaux took most of his references, had himself indicated the greater part of his sources. Evidence that much yet remains to be done has come in several ways, notably the discovery of several neglected sources, study of Spanish influences by M. Ernest Martinenche, and the revival of interest in Hardy and Corneille's dramatic contemporaries, resulting in a juster appreciation of their contributions to the development of the stage. Gaston Bizos called attention to the use of Mairet's *Sophonisbe* in the imprecations of Camille (*Horace*) and M. Henri Hauvette has shown that the subjects of *Polyeucte* and *Théodore* were probably suggested by the theatre of Bartolommei. Professor S. A. Smith called attention to a neglected source of *Nicomède*. The most recent dissertation on Corneille's sources, by Dr. Karl Liffert, deals with *Horace*, *Cinna*, and *Pompée*, but shows little evidence of independent research, as is indicated by his following Matzke in attributing a life of Tullus Hostilius to Plutarch. Dr. J. Segall's work on the Spanish sources is a re-working of known material. J. E. Matzke indicated in

(1) I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Silin for suggesting Hardy's *Alcméon*.

(2) It has hitherto been known that *Sophonisbe* was used in the imprecations of Camille.

detail Corneille's borrowings in *Pompée*, but made an error when he attributed indebtedness in *Horace* to a so-called Plutarch-Amyot *Life of Tullus Hostilius*, which was in reality written in the eighteenth century. Dr. Georg Wendt deals with Corneille and Rotrou, but is inclined to overstress the former's indebtedness in *Nicomède*.⁵ Dr. van Roosbroeck gives an interesting explanation of the genesis of *Cinna*, which I think must be abandoned through the recognition of Scudéry's play as a source. It is, moreover, hard to prove that contemporary events had much to do with suggesting subjects or details of plot.

In the search for the influences which determined the final form of Corneille's plays several fields, on which scholars have been at work, are not dealt with here, though some attention will be called to the influence of Aristotle and of Aristotelian criticism, which, I think, has been greatly exaggerated for plays of the period treated. Nor do I consider the source of Corneille's psychology, which M. Lanson has shown to be best described by Descartes in 1649, but only after Corneille had written his most important plays. M. Ed. Droz has made a study of the influence of d'Urfé's *Astrée*, but fails to point out any direct borrowings. Professor W. A. Nitze has pointed out resemblances between some of Corneille's heroes and the ideal « honnête homme » expressed in Castiglione's *Cortegiano*; but since this ideal was more or less current at the time, no direct connection can be established.

This study is the outcome of work which I began in Professor Lancaster's seminary on Corneille, 1920-22, during the first year of which special attention was given to the historical sources, and during the second year, to the influence of Corneille's dramatic contemporaries, which, as the result of his researches in this field, Professor Lancaster felt had been neglected. The following pages, I believe, will justify his theory. The papers read in the seminary were suggestive and Professor Lancaster's criticism brought out the methods requi-

site to this particular kind of research. I wish to thank my co-workers, especially Mr. C. I. Silin, who gave me the reference to Hardy's *Alcméon*, an important source of *Médée*. To Professor Lancaster I am indebted for numerous references, which I have tried to acknowledge in foot-notes, and for his knowledge of the French drama of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which he at all times generously put at my disposal. My indebtedness to his published works is no less great, as will later appear.

It is a pleasure to express my appreciation of the courtesies shown me by a number of librarians, especially those of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, and to thank my colleagues, Professors Herbert D. Austin and Jean Morel, for valuable assistance in reading proof.

L. M. R.

Los Angeles, November, 1925.

CHAPTER I

MÉDÉE

After producing a number of comedies Corneille turned to the graver dramatic form, tragedy. Among the influences which contributed to his choice of subject were his excellent knowledge of Latin literature gained through training in the Jesuit College at Rouen and a recent return to favor on the French stage of Seneca, imitated in the sixteenth century, but neglected by Hardy (1). Jean Rotrou's *Hercule mourant*, based on Seneca (2), was represented at the beginning of 1634 (3), whereas Corneille's play came toward the end of the same year or at the beginning of 1635 (4). There may be some significance in the fact that the first tragedy of Rotrou was followed about a year later by the first tragedy of Corneille, and that both men had previously produced about the same

(1) Cf. Rigal, *Alexandre Hardy*, Paris, Hachette, 1889, p. 259 : « Hardy n'emprunte à Sénèque ni l'ensemble ni les parties d'aucune de ses œuvres. » When he imitates him in the case of certain single lines it is « par l'intermédiaire de Garnier. » But Hardy's *Alcméon*, showing imitations of two plays of Euripides which had also been imitated by Seneca, may have helped restore the latter's popularity.

(2) T. F. Crane, *Jean Rotrou's « Saint Genest » and « Venceslas »*, Boston, Ginn, 1907, pp. 28 and 58.

(3) Stiefel, « Ueber die Chronologie von J. Rotrou's dramatischen Werken », *Z.F.S.L.*, 1894, XVI, 29.

(4) Cf. *Le Mémoire de Mahelot, Laurent et autres Décorateurs de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne*, by Henry Carrington Lancaster, Paris, Champion, 1920, p. 56, and « The Dates of Corneille's Early Plays, » by the same author, *M. L. N.*, XXV (1915), 1-5.

number of comedies. Corneille may have been watching the development of Rotrou's dramatic activities, especially since it is probable that the latter was then the regular playwright of the Hôtel de Bourgogne. Later the two men were among the « Cinq Auteurs » chosen to develop the dramatic designs of Richelieu, the collaboration beginning in the year when *Médée* was produced. Up to this time (1635) Scudéry (5) and Du Ryer (6) had written no tragedies. On the other hand Mairet, who shared with Corneille and the three authors previously mentioned the distinction of being a major playwright of the time, had produced in 1634 a tragedy, *Sophonisbe*, which attracted great attention. The two tragedies, *Hercule mourant* and *Sophonisbe*, must have had considerable weight in determining Corneille's choice of a serious subject, and the former play may have directed his attention toward Seneca. As Rotrou was producing for the Hôtel de Bourgogne, Corneille may have written *Médée* to supply a rival company with a Senecan tragedy, for it was finally produced by the troupe of Mondory at the Théâtre du Marais (7). Another writer who had used Seneca is La Pinelière, whose *Hippolyte*, published in 1635 (8), may have preceded *Médée*.

As to the choice of a play in Seneca's theatre, *Medea* may have appealed to Corneille because of the heroine's strength of will. If one considers his tragedies only, the preference for willful characters is undeniable (9). This preference is visible in a play written before *Médée* in the character of Alidor of *La Place royale*, 1633-34 (10). It is also possible that Rotrou's

(5) A. Batereau, *Georges de Scudéry als Dramatiker*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 33.

(6) Henry Carrington Lancaster, *Pierre Du Ryer Dramatist*, Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1912, p. 171.

(7) G. Lanson, *Corneille*, Paris, Hachette, 6^e éd. 1922, p. 48.

(8) The *privilege* and *achevé d'imprimer* are lost (cf. H. C. Lancaster, *Le Mémoire de Mahelot*, p. 52, for date of printing). I do not mention Monléon's *Thyeste*, ordinarily supposed to have appeared in 1633, for Professor Lancaster has shown that the date of its *privilege* is 1638, and that there is no reason to suppose that it antedated *Médée*. Cf. *M. L. N.*, XXXVII (1922), 467-8.

(9) M. Lanson has shown that Corneille's heroes do not undergo a struggle between duty and love or other passions, but between the will and the passions, in which the will is supreme (Cf. *Hist. de la litt. fr.*, 12^e éd., pp. 435 ff.).

(10) For the dating of Corneille's early comedies see H. C. Lancaster, « The Dates of Corneille's Early Plays, » *M. L. N.*, XXX (1915), 1-5.

Hercule mourant may have suggested to Corneille the story of Medea and Jason, since in each legend a man abandons his wife for another woman and the wife avenges herself by use of a poisoned garment.

The subject once chosen, Corneille read the *Medea* of Euripides, very probably Dolce's *Medea*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, VII, 1-403, an account of the adventures of Jason and Medea from the landing of the former on the banks of the Phasis to the flight of the latter from Corinth and her reception by Aegeus, and Ovid's *Heroides*, VI, « Hypsipyle to Jason, » and XII, « Medea to Jason. » He also recalled Hardy's *Alcméon*, in which the Medea theme is used. Since he later used the two works on the Argonauts by Apollonius Rhodius and Valerius Flaccus respectively in his *Toison d'or*, Corneille may have referred to these while writing *Médée* and taken from them the name of Pollux, one of the Dioscuri, who according to Apollonius took part in the expedition of the Argonauts, which resulted in the bringing of Medea to Greece. Buchanan's Latin translation of the *Medea* of Euripides follows the original so closely that Corneille could not have found in it any suggestions.

To rewrite Seneca's *Medea* for the French stage of Corneille's time required a lengthening of the play, since the Latin tragedy has only 4026 verses and the average French play was considerably longer. This was done by adding characters, scenes, and episodes. Aegeus, omitted by Seneca, is found in Euripides (11). Pollux was added as a *confident* of Jason. The bringing on the stage of Creusa, who does not appear in either of the ancient plays, may be due to a suggestion from Hardy's *Alcméon*, in which Alphésibée plays a similar rôle ; and to her is given a *confidente*, not suggested by Hardy. Theudas, the *domestique* of Créon in *Médée*, replaces the mes-

(11) Marty-Laveaux cites some of the more striking parallel passages to both Seneca and Euripides, although no attempt is made to give a complete list of the borrowings, and gives also parallel passages from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, VII, 1-403 and *Heroides*, XII, and a verse from the *Aeneid*, I, 49 (*Médée*, IV, 3 ; 1132). I have not seen the *Parallèle des beautés de Corneille avec celles de plusieurs scènes de la Médée de Sénèque*, by M. Guilbert, read before the *Société libre d'émulation de Rouen*, June 16, 1804 (see M.-L., II, 329, note 2).

senger of Seneca's play. With personages added new scenes may be invented, such as those between Jason and Pollux (I, 1), Pollux and Créon (IV, 2 and 3), Ægée and Créuse (II, 5), and Créuse and Jason (II, 4). As to episodes, Corneille makes Ægée an *amant rebuté* of Créuse, a type which he frequently used in later tragedies. He introduced a motif found in tragi-comedies, the *enlèvement* (12), and which he had used in at least one comedy, *La Veuve*, where an *amant rebuté* carries off his rival, although not the woman with whom he is in love, as is the case in this play.

In the opening scene of *Médée* Jason tells Pollux of his love for Créuse, for whom he is about to abandon Médée. His wife will act, he says, much as did Hypsipyle, whom he formerly treated in like manner. Corneille probably had in mind the letter of « Hypsipyle to Jason » in Ovid's *Heroides*, describing the anguish of the deserted mother. We know that her protests, as Jason in the play says, were of no avail :

Et que fit Hypsipyle,
Que pousser les éclats d'un courroux inutile ?
(I, 1; 9-10.)

Jason speaks of the tears which Hypsipyle shed when he deserted her.

JASON.	HYPSIPYLE [to Jason].
Elle jeta des cris, elle versa des pleurs.	lacrimis osque sinusque madent.
<i>Médée</i> , I, 1; 11.	<i>Heroides</i> , VI, 70.

He says that she wished him « mille et mille malheurs » (vs. 12). In Ovid, however, the wrath of Hypsipyle is directed principally against Medea, and the misfortunes which she hopes will overtake her husband are those which might come as a consequence of marrying a woman with a criminal past. She hopes that Medea will be as bitter toward Jason as she has been toward her father and brother,

quam fratri germana fuit miseroque parenti
filia, tam natis, tam sit acerba viro!
(*Her.*, VI, 159-60),

(12) H. Carrington Lancaster, *The French Tragi-Comedy, Its Origin and Development from 1552 to 1638*, Baltimore, Furst, 1907.

and that the unlawful union will prove a curse to him :

vivite, devoto nuptaque virque toro !
(*Her.*, VI, 164.)

In the play Jason says he was accused of perfidy,

Dit que j'étois sans foi, sans cœur, sans conscience
(I, 1 ; 13),

which is the general tone of the letter. Hypsipyle compared him to the uncertain breezes of spring :

Mobilis Aesonide vernaque incertior aura.
(*Her.*, VI, 109.)

Jason meets Créuse (I, 3), a scene suggested by Hardy's *Alcméon*, and the princess says that she has a request to make, which later (II, 4) turns out to be for Médée's robe. In Hardy's play Alcméon abandons his wife for Callirhoé and the latter requests of her lover that he secure for her his wife's necklace, *vn carquan d'ineestimable prix*.

CRÉUSE (à Jason).

CALLIRHOÉ (à Alcméon).

La robe de Médée a donné dans mes D'arre concedez-moy le carcan pre-
yeux. cieus

Médée, II, 4 ; 568.

Que tient Alphisibee.

Alcméon, Act. I, 325-6. (13.)

In *Alcméon* the necklace is poisoned by Alphésibée and thus serves as a means of vengeance. Since Creusa in both Seneca and Euripides expresses no desire to possess the robe of Medea, Corneille probably borrowed this idea from Hardy. That the change is not altogether felicitous Corneille himself recognized. To take a woman's husband and then ask for her jewels or her finest garment borders on the comical. Hence, Corneille makes Créuse speak of the request as a caprice (II, 4 ; 569), and allows Médée to comment on it as follows :

C'est trop peu de Jason, que ton œil me dérobe,
C'est trop peu de mon lit : tu veux encor ma robe.
Méd., IV, 1 ; 961-2.

(13) A. Hardy, *Le Théâtre*, ed. by Stengel, Marburg, 1884, 5 v.

Commenting on this change in 1660 Corneille gives his reasons for it without mentioning the source of the suggestion. He says that in Seneca and Euripides there is too little distrust of Medea's present and that he sought to rectify this by having Créuse covet the robe which was to prove the cause of her undoing :

J'ai cru mettre la chose dans un peu plus de justesse, par quelques précautions que j'y ai apportées : la première, en ce que Créuse souhaite avec passion cette robe que Médée empoisonne, et qu'elle oblige Jason à la tirer d'elle par adresse.

Examen de Médée, M.-L., II, 334.

This precaution, then, was due to a suggestion which Corneille found in an earlier play.

Médée gives vent to her wrath in I, 4 and 5, scenes based on Seneca. There is one case of verbal agreement with Hardy :

NÉRINE (à Médée).

NOURRICE [à Alphésibée].

Modérez les bouillons de cette violence.

Reprimer les bouillons d'un courage irrité.

Médée, I, 5; 281.

Alcméon, II; 393.

The first two scenes of act II are based on Seneca's play, to which Marty-Laveaux gives many parallels. In scene 2 we again find a suggestion from Hardy. As has been said, Créuse in *Médée* prepares the way for her own destruction by requesting the robe of her lover's wife. In keeping with this change, suggested by Hardy, Corneille makes Créon grant voluntarily to Médée the day of grace which she needs to compass the destruction of the royal family. Thus Créuse, through a *caprice*, and Créon, through lack of foresight, become the authors of their own destruction. Although this is in accord with the Aristotelian doctrine of the tragic flaw, yet the death of Créuse and Créon fails to produce the true tragic effect, since it comes as a well deserved consequence of their cruel treatment of Médée. One result, however, of the voluntary offer of Créon is to lessen the violence of his action and to make him more *sympathique*, as Corneille himself explains in the *examen* :

Créon le [le jour de délai] lui donne de son mouvement, comme pour diminuer quelque chose de l'injuste violence qu'il lui fait, dont il semble avoir honte en lui-même.

M.-L., II, 334-5.

Although these precautions help to allay the suspicions which would attach to the gifts of an enemy and to the request for delay made by one whose wiles were well known, yet the immediate effect is to make of Médée an opportunist, and hence a less dramatic personage. Not so in both Euripides and Seneca, where Medea obtains the request for the day needed to accomplish her vengeance only through an appeal to Créon's pity for a woman about to leave her children forever, the king reluctantly yielding against his better judgment. Although in Seneca Medea encounters no obstacles in sending the poisoned gift to Creusa, yet in Euripides she is forced to use her wits to accomplish her end. Medea, fearing that Creusa will not accept the gift, devises a means of distracting attention from the robe itself. Feigning solicitude for the welfare of her children, she proposes sending gifts to Creusa that the latter may thereby be prevailed upon to look with favor on her children. Jason, to whom the appeal is made, says that Creusa will not receive the gift, but consents to let the children carry it to the princess. When the boys arrive with the robe, Creusa turns her head aside, not caring to look upon the children of Medea. Jason, however, intercedes for the two unfortunate children, and Creusa, catching sight of the marvelous robe, can no longer resist, but, taking the present, promises protection to the children.

In II, 5 Corneille may have got a suggestion from Dolce. Whereas in Euripides Aegeus passes through the kingdom of Creon without seeing or speaking to the ruler, in Dolce's *Medea* he is invited to the marriage feast, being brought thus into closer connection with the plot. In Corneille *Ægée* visits the court of Créon, where he speaks with Créuse, with whom he is in love. In 1660 Corneille called attention to the dramatic defect in Euripides :

En quoi je trouve deux choses à dire : l'une, qu'Ægée, étant dans la cour de Créon, ne parle point du tout de le voir.

Examen de Médée, M.-L., II, 335.

The scene in Dolce begins thus :

VECCHIO.

Signor, si come già mi commettete
Sono stato al palazzo; ed ho trovato
Il Re tutto disposto d'onorarvi;
Però, che intesa la venuta vostra,
Mostrò di rallegrarsi in infinito.
E vuol ch'ad ogni modo ei vi sia caro
Di trovarvi presente alla sua festa,
Che son le nozze della sua figliuola.
.....

Egeo.

A me il sollecitar il mio bisogno
Importa più, ch'a lui la mia presenza.
Però n'andiamo. Vec. Io volentier vi seguo;
Stimando onesto quanto aggrada a voi.

La Medea, III, fourth scene (14).

Either Corneille had the same thought independently, or else he borrowed from Dolce and forgot that he had done so.

Act III, for which Marty-Laveaux gives parallels, is based on Seneca, with the exception of scene 2, in which Jason, reluctant to carry out in person the request of Créuse, sends Nérine to ask for the robe of Médée.

The first scene of act IV is from Seneca. Scene 2 is inspired, perhaps, by Dolce's *Medea*, II, 3. In both scenes Creon is warned against the wiles of Medea, to whom he has granted a day of grace; but his word once given, he must keep it.

POLLUX [describing Médée].

Accoutumée au meurtre et savante en
poison.

.....

CRÉON.

Je n'ai prescrit qu'un jour de terme à
son départ.

POLLUX.

C'est peu pour une femme, et beau-
coup pour son art :

Sur le pouvoir humain ne réglez pas
les charmes.

CONSIGLIERE.

Di qui mi par che voi non dovevate

Conceder tempo pur d'un'ora sola

A Medea di restar dentro Corinto :

.....

CORO.

Sapete ben che le parole, e l'erbe,

Hanno virtù di far cose, che spesso

Impossibili sono alla natura :

E di costei troppo la fama è certa.

(14) *Quattro tragedie* di M. Lodovico Dolce, in Venezia, 1766.

CRÉON.

Quelques puissants qu'ils soient, je
n'en ai point d'alarmes;
Et quand bien ce délai devrait tout
hasarder,
Ma parole est donnée, et je la veux
garder.

Médée, IV, 2; 1099, 1107-12.

CREONTE.

Possan quel che si voglia, noi dob-
biamo
Mantener nostra fe, ch'abbiam pro-
messa
Io sarò cauto : andiam pur con pace
A porre a fin le cominciate nozze.

Dolce, Medea, II, 5.

No such scene is found in either Euripides or Seneca:

In IV, 3, Créon, again warned against the gifts of Médée, says that he will take precautions by first having a *criminelle* try on the robe. The stances of *Ægée* (IV, 4) seem to be a Cornelian addition. Médée appears (IV, 5), liberates *Ægée*, who has been imprisoned for trying to carry off Créuse, and receives assurance from him of protection after her flight from Corinth : again she appears as an opportunist. On the other hand, *Medea's* plan for vengeance in Euripides, where *Aegeus* is found, is conditioned upon her finding some sure place of refuge after slaying Creusa.

What hospitable stranger affording a land of safety and a faithful home will protect my person? There is none. Waiting then yet a little time, if any tower of safety shall appear to me, I will proceed to this murder in treachery and silence (15).

Vengeance to her will be but empty if, after the slaying of her rival, she is to find herself an outcast among the nations and an object of derision. In the case of Corneille's heroine, however, the desire of finding a retreat after her crime is only an afterthought. On hearing that *Ægée* has been imprisoned Médée sees the possibility of gaining his favor by releasing him :

Si la prison d'*Ægée* a suivi sa défaite,
Tu peux voir qu'en l'ouvrant je m'ouvre une retraite.

Médée, IV, 1; 1041-2.

Her plans for vengeance have already been made : the poisoned robe is ready to be sent to Créuse and Jason is to be punished by slaying his children. In accepting the help of *Ægée* Médée takes advantage of an unsought and unthought of opportunity to assure her future welfare.

(15) Euripides, *Medea*, tr. by Buckley, London, Bohn, 1850, p. 147.

If Corneille failed to bring *Ægée* into the main action, he at least took special care to weave the episode into the plot. His name is mentioned in act I, sc. 2, and he first appears in the last scene of act II. As a rejected suitor of *Créuse* he attempts to carry her off by force, is thwarted in his purpose by Jason, and is subsequently imprisoned. Hence, when *Médée* rescues him, he is ready to espouse her cause, although there is nothing which he can do to aid her in solving the problem with which the play is concerned. He is to return to Athens and to prepare for her a safe retreat after her vengeance and successful escape. Legend tells us that the two were subsequently married.

Scenes 1 and 2 of act V are based on Seneca, with an additional motif of Corneille's invention, namely that Jason has gone with Pollux to conduct the latter from the city, thus explaining his absence during the tragic scenes that follow. *Créon* appears (V, 3) and later *Créuse* (V, 4), consumed by « invisible fires » caused by the poisoned robe of *Médée*. The invisibility is an invention of Corneille in order that the victims may appear on the stage, whereas in Seneca and Euripides the catastrophe takes place offstage. In his *examen* to *Médée* he says,

Ce spectacle de mourants m'étoit nécessaire pour remplir mon cinquième acte, qui sans cela n'eût pu atteindre à la longueur ordinaire des nôtres. M.-L., II, 338.

To avenge herself on Jason *Médée* slays her children and departs in a chariot in the air, as in the ancient plays. Corneille modified the dénouement of his sources by having Jason kill himself.

In summary : the genesis of the play is attributable to suggestions from the contemporary theatre of Rotrou and Mairet, in which Corneille sensed the public taste. The working out of the plot, in which *Médée* becomes an opportunist rather than a dynamic force, is due to a play by Hardy, the most popular playwright of the preceding generation. To the known sources, Seneca, Euripides, Ovid, Vergil, may be added Hardy's *Alcméon* and perhaps Dolce's *Medea* and Ovid's *Heroides*, VI (« Hypsipyle to Jason »).

CHAPTER II

LE CID

After presenting *Médée*, based on the Latin of Seneca, Corneille turned to the Spanish of Guillén de Castro. The reasons for his choice are not clear. The anecdote related by Beauchamps (1) that M. de Chalon suggested *Las Mocedades del Cid* is not supported by sufficient evidence, and the interesting theory of Dr. G. L. van Roosbroeck that the play was written as a defence of the Queen (2) has been refuted by Professor Lancaster and M. L. Batiffol (3).

That the Cid theme had already been treated in France in a novel, *La Haine et l'amour d'Arnoul et de Clayremonde* (1600), by A. du Périer, has been shown by Dr. van Roosbroeck (4). In his comparison of the plays of Corneille and G. de Castro and the novel of du Périer he points out similar tendencies in the works of the two French authors which do not occur in the Spanish: both du Périer and Corneille emphasize the psychological struggle and the rationalizing of the passions. Corneille's choice of a subject from the Spanish theatre is more probably due to the growing influence of the Spanish drama (5), especially noticeable in the plays of Rotrou. As Rigal has shown (6), Hardy used Spanish stories but not Spanish plays. On the other hand, there is a considerable

(1) *Recherches sur les théâtres de France*, Paris, Prault, 1735, vol. II, p. 157.

(2) *The Purpose of Corneille's "Cid"*, Minneapolis, Pioneer Printers, 1921.

(3) *M. L. N.*, May, 1922; *R. d. d. m.*, 1^{er} avril 1923.

(4) *The Cid Theme in France in 1600*, Minneapolis, Pioneer Printers, 1920.

(5) See Martinenche, *La Comedia espagnole en France de Hardy à Racine*, Paris, Hachette, 1900, particularly chaps. II and III.

(6) E. Rigal, *Alexandre Hardy*, p. 244.

influence of Spanish plays on Rotrou in pieces which preceded the representation of *Le Cid*, as in *La Bague de l'oubli* (repr. 1628), *Les Occasions perdues* (repr. 1633), *L'Heureuse constance* (repr. 1633-4) (7), all based on Lope de Vega (8). The connection between Rotrou's and Corneille's choice of subject has been suggested in the study of *Médée*, and it is possible that we have here again an influence, especially since Corneille and Rotrou were associated at this time as two of the « Cinq Auteurs ».

Le Cid differs from the Spanish play in the concentration of interest and the emphasis on psychological intrigue rather than on the spectacular. This tendency, a general one in the theatre of the time, is due partly to the study of the ancient authors, partly to the example of Corneille's contemporaries who had produced such plays as Mairet's *Sophonisbe*, Scudéry's *Mort de César*, Benserade's *Cléopâtre*, La Calprenède's *Mort de Mithridate*, and best of all, Tristan's *Mariane*.

Besides the immediate source, *Las Mocedades del Cid*, Corneille mentions in his *Avertissement* to the *Cid*, first published in 1648, the *Historia de España* of Mariana, which he says was used by Guillén de Castro, and two romances, which may be found in the *Romancero espagnol* (9). Of plays represented before *Le Cid* several show similarities. The sword motif, *Le Cid*, III, 4, is found in Benserade's *La mort d'Achille* (pr. 1636), in which Achille at the feet of Polixène « lui présente son épée nue » and bids her take his life (10). In *Céline et les frères rivaux* of Beys (privilege Jan. 27, 1637), which must have been represented before *Le Cid*, Floridor on his knees begs Florizel to punish his treachery and offers his sword. In the novel of Du Périer a similar scene occurs :

Elle [Clayremonde] voit qu'Arnoul se lève d'aupres d'elle et tirant son espée, la baise, et la luy présente (10).

(7) For the date of *L'Heureuse constance*, cf. H. C. Lancaster, *Le Mémoire de Mahelot*, p. 85.

(8) See T. F. Crane, *Jean Rotrou's « Saint Genest » and « Venceslas »*, Boston, 1907, p. 58 et passim.

(9) « *Romancero espagnol...* traduction complète par M. Damas-Hinard, 2 vol. in-18, tome II, page 24 et 27, » M.-L., III, 87, note 1.

(10) Cited by Dr. van Roosbroeck, *The Cid Theme in France in 1660*, p. 13.

The same motif is used by Du Ryer in his *Argenis et Poliarque* (11), « first played about 1629 » (12). Poliarque presents to Argenis his sword saying,

Si ie suis criminel, tenez voila dequoy
Me punir d'un forfait commis sous vostre loy.
(Act. IV, sc. 4) (13).

Finally, in Mairet's *Sophonisbe* (rep. 1634) Massinisse, fearing lest his love offend Sophonisbe, offers her his sword and asks her to take his life.

Que ce fer par vos mains m'immole à vos genoux :
Victime infortunée et d'amour et de hayne.
(III, 3; 919-20).

It is true that this episode occurs in G. de Castro (14), but its retention by Corneille may be due to the fact that there were already several precedents for it in France. In the play of Beys cited above, the daughter of the King of Denmark reminds one of the Infante in *Le Cid* when she exclaims,

Que ne suis je bergère, ou bien que n'es-tu roi ! (15)

There is probably in *Le Cid* an echo of Mairet's *Sophonisbe* (rep. 1634) (16), the influence of which is apparent in Corneille's next play, *Horace*. When Don Diègue tries to persuade his son Rodrigue to forget Chimène, he uses an argument similar to one of Scipion when he seeks to induce Massinisse to abandon Sophonisbe.

DON DIÈGUE [à Rodrigue].

SCIPION [à Massinisse].

Nous n'avons qu'un honneur, il est
tant de maitresses !

Le Cid, III, 6; 1058.

Sophonisbe n'est pas la dernière des
fâmes,

Assez d'autres encor sont dignes de
vos flames.

Mairot, *Soph.*, V, 6; 1732-3.

(11) H. Carrington Lancaster, *Pierre Du Ryer Dramatist*, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C., 1912, p. 46.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 171.

(13) Cited by Professor Lancaster, *ibid.*, p. 46.

(14) *Las Mocedades del Cid.*, II, 2.

(15) I am indebted to Professor Lancaster for the parallels in the plays of Benserade, Beys, and Du Ryer.

(16) Jean de Mairet, *Sophonisbe*, ed. by Karl Vollmöller in *Sammlung französischer Neudrucke*, Heilbronn, Henninger, 1888, no. 8.

Such reasoning appealed to both Massinisse and Rodrigue as cruel and heartless and served only to increase their determination to be faithful to the object of their love. Furthermore, as Marty-Laveaux expressed it, « Les maximes de ce genre sur la facilité avec laquelle on remplace un amant ou une maîtresse sont fréquentes dans le théâtre de Corneille » (17).

The changes which Corneille made in reworking the Spanish play may be rapidly summarized, as they have been frequently studied and are generally known. He emphasized the psychological struggle and subordinated the external events. He made his play conform more closely to the unities than did the original. He not only omitted some of the events, but he modified the dénouement. In *Las Mocedades del Cid* as in history and legend Jimena consents to marry Rodrigo, but in *Le Cid* such an outcome is left to the imagination of the spectator. Although it was the common interpretation of those who witnessed the first representations of *Le Cid* that Chimène actually consented to marry Rodrigue, yet Corneille denied this implication in his *Examen du Cid* (18). Voltaire, generally severe toward Corneille, agreed with him }.

Comment pouvait-on dire que Chimène était une fille dénaturée, quand le Roi lui-même n'espère rien pour Rodrigue que du temps, de sa protection et de la valeur de ce héros ? (19)

Petit de Julleville follows Voltaire :

On ne saurait trop faire remarquer que c'est ici le dernier vers que prononce Chimène, et que ce dernier vers est un refus. Il est donc faux de prétendre qu'elle épouse ou promet d'épouser Rodrigue, au dénouement du *Cid*. Tout le monde espère qu'un jour elle se laissera fléchir ; mais elle-même n'a rien promis (20).

This is an instance of what Corneille meant by softening the

(17) Cf. *Horace*, I, 2; 116 and IV, 3; 1179-80; *Polyeucte*, II, 1; 390; *Nicomède*, V, 1; 1192; *Othon*, III, 3; 994-5; *Tite et Bérénice*, I, 2; 249-50. Marty-Laveaux calls attention to the use of the motif in four plays, but fails to mention it in *Nicomède* and *Tite et Bérénice*. I think that no one has mentioned its probable source in Mairet's *Sophonisbe*.

(18) M.-L., III, 93.

(19) Cited by Petit de Julleville, *Théâtre choisi de Corneille*, Paris, Hachette, 9^e éd., p. 223.

(20) *Op. cit.*, p. 222, note to verse 1812.

dénouement, as he describes it in his *Avertissement de Roderigue* (1647) (21): There he says that the *lois du poème* do not permit him to change the dénouement of his source, but he implies that he violates no dramatic law in modifying or softening it.

The motivation of the events remains unchanged with the exception of the appearance of the Moors and the duel between Rodrigue and Don Sanche. The motivation of this duel shows a marked advance over the Spanish play. In Guillén de Castro Don Martín, hostile to Castile, defies the king, Don Fernand, and all his knights. Rodrigo takes up the challenge and in a scene of provocation finds that his enemy has learned of the promise of Jimena to marry the victor, and that this Don Martín, if victorious, will claim Jimena as his bride. Don Martín's interest is that of the mediæval knight who hears of the possibility of winning a fair lady and enters the lists. In this case the lady is one of the spoils of war. Don Martín is brought in toward the end of the play merely to help bring about the dénouement. In *Le Cid*, however, Don Sanche, who replaces Don Martín, is introduced early in the play. His name is mentioned in the first scene as a rival of Rodrigue for the hand of Chimène and, after his rejection by the heroine, he seeks an opportunity to serve her, hoping that it will turn to his advantage. He first offers to espouse the cause of Chimène after the latter has made an apparently vain appeal to the king, saying that the law is slow in its course, but is told that his offer will be accepted only as an extreme measure. Finally, after Chimène has made a second appeal to the king to punish Rodrigue and finds him more unwilling to consent in view of the Cid's signal services to the country, Chimène makes an appeal to the knights, and when the king consents to a duel with the provision that Chimène shall become the bride of the victor, Don Sanche offers and is permitted to take up the sword in her defense.

The « tête » episode suggested by Castro underwent a radical change. Jimena hears that she is to be presented with

(21) M.-L., IV, 414-18.

Hence her anxiety to lay before the king her demands a second time.

In reworking Seneca's *Medea* Corneille expanded the play to meet the demands of the French stage. In recasting the Spanish play he showed a tendency toward concentration; but the fact that he had not yet fully developed his dramatic technique is shown by the retention of the Infante, the late mention of the Moors, and the failure to observe the rules he later adopted in regard to the unity of place and the *liaison des scènes*.

We may conclude, then, that Corneille's choice of subject in *Le Cid* was largely, if not wholly influenced by the growing popularity of plays based on Spanish sources, in particular those of Rotrou, from whose theatre had probably come the suggestion for *Médée*. Then, too, there is some evidence in the play of the use of Mairet's *Sophonisbe*, which suggested to Corneille the subject of his next play, *Horace*.

CHAPTER III

HORACE

After *Le Cid* more than three years elapsed before the presentation of the next play, *Horace* (1640), to be followed, probably in the same year, by *Cinna*. The long period of inactivity has generally been ascribed to the influence of the *Cid* quarrel. In view of the success of *Le Cid* and Corneille's previous record of about one play a year it is probable that the dramatist would have had a piece ready in 1637 or 1638, had he not been harassed by contemporaries interested in the observance of certain rules of art or jealous of his success. The fact that two plays of finished form appeared in the same year would lead one to infer that Corneille had been at work on them some time before 1640, and there is little evidence against the assumption that he may have had one or both of them in mind by the end of 1637. Chapelain's letter of January, 1639, proves only that at that time Corneille seemed to have given up play-writing. It is quite possible that he may have selected the subjects of *Horace* and *Cinna*, then abandoned them, then returned to them as a result of Chapelain's encouragement. But, however this may be, the *Cid* quarrel was of great importance in the conception of *Horace* and *Cinna*, for both plays were suggested by the tragedies of Corneille's chief opponents in that dispute, namely, Mairet's *Sophonisbe* (rep. 1634) and Scudéry's *Mort de César* (rep. 1634 or 1635). Apparently he sought to answer their criticisms by making better use than they of their own weapons.

That Corneille had Mairet's play before him while writing *Horace* has long been known (1). Critics have been content, however, to find indebtedness only in the imprecations of Camille (*Horace*, IV, 5); but closer examination of the two plays shows many similarities, and the situation of Sophonisbe with her husband in one camp and her lover in another might well have suggested the story of the sister of Horace. Furthermore, Massinisse, lover of Sophonisbe, has to decide between love for one in the enemy camp and duty to his allies, the Romans, and he meets the same obstacle to his love as that encountered by the sister of Horace, namely the severity of Roman nature toward human affections. The following parallel, which gives points of resemblance between Mairet's play and the historians, Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2), shows how knowledge of Mairet's play may have attracted Corneille to his sources in these historians.

MAIRET'S *Sophonisbe*.

1. Sophonisbe struggles between duty to her husband and love for Massinisse in the enemy camp.

2. Her father had previously promised her in marriage to Massinisse.

3. She awaits at home the outcome of the battle which will determine her happiness.

4. She accuses herself of lack of patriotism, saying,
Moy qui trahis mon nom, ma gloire,
et ma patrie,

Pour aymer Massinisse avec idolatrie
(II, 1; 397-8.).

and later to Massinisse, in speaking of the reawakening of her love for him,
De là ie commençay de vendre mon
pays

(IV, 1; 1084.).

5. Massinisse finds his love for Sophonisbe in conflict with the interests of Rome, and rebels against Roman severity toward human ties.

LIVY AND DIONYSIUS.

1. The sister of Horace has an « un-governed love » (Dionysius) for her cousin in the opposite camp.

2. « Her father had promised her in marriage » (Dionysius) to this cousin.

3. She awaits at home the outcome of the battle which will determine her happiness.

4. Her brother accuses her of unpatriotic conduct after his victory.

5. She rebels against the demands of her brother that she forget her love when the interests of Rome require it.

(1) Gaston Bizos, I think, was the first to show this, in his *Étude sur la vie et les œuvres de Jean de Mairet*, Paris, Thorin, 1877, p. 212.

(2) *Roman Antiquities*, tr. by E. Spelman, London, 1758, 4 v. Dionysius has

Psychological conflict is a prominent element in Mairêt's play, one that would readily attract Corneille's attention and suggest the choice of a story like that of the sister of Horace, who found herself in situations similar to those of Sophonisbe. Furthermore, plays based on Roman history were finding favor with the public, and their success encouraged Corneille doubtless to go on with *Horace*, once the subject had been chosen. Such plays were : Scudéry's *Didon* (pr. 1637) and *La Mort de César* (pr. 1636), Guérin de Bouscal's *Suite de la Mort de César* (priv. 1636), Chevreau's *Lucrèce romaine* (pr. 1637) and *Coriolan* (pr. 1638), Du Ryer's *Lucrèce* (pr. 1638), and Desmaretz's *Scipion* (pr. 1639).

When due credit is given to the influence of Mairêt and Dionysius, several plays suggested in this connection may be rejected. Those who have examined Aretino's *Orazia* and the *Horace* of Pierre de Laudun d'Aigaliers find no evidence of borrowing. In the former there is a dream similar to that of Camille, but *Sophonisbe* furnishes a similar motif. Lope de Vega's *El honrado hermano* has been looked upon with favor, and M. Martinenche asserts that it suggested to Corneille the theme of *Horace* (3). However, since all borrowings attributed by him to Lope may be traced to Mairêt, Livy, or Dionysius, there is no evidence that Corneille knew the Spanish play (4).

been mentioned in discussion of Corneille's sources, but no one, to my knowledge, has shown Corneille's indebtedness to him in *Horace*. In 1861 E. Desjardins in his *Le Grand Corneille historien* suggested him as a possible source of Corneille's knowledge of early Roman history and character. M. Félix Hémon in his edition of *Horace* (Paris, Delagrave, 10^e éd., n. d.) says, « sauf quelques variantes de peu d'importance, le récit de Denys d'Halicarnasse (III, 1) ... ne diffère pas de celui de Tite-Live. »

(3) E. Martinenche, *La Comedia espagnole en France de Hardy à Racine*, Paris, Hachette, 1900, p. 225.

(4) Some borrowings which M. Martinenche attributes to Lope might well come from Livy, such as the verbal resemblances in the father's defense of his son. Others may be traced to Dionysius : the more humane nature of Curia, a suggestion for Sabine, suspense of the narrative, and the reproaches of brutality made by Camille against her brother. Still others may come from Mairêt : Livy as a source, a further suggestion for Sabine, and her thoughts of suicide. Both dramatists could have supposed independently that the sweetheart (in Lope) or the wife (in Corneille) of Horace would try to dissuade him from fighting, and that the sister of Horace would be greatly affected at news of the duel of brother and lover. One verbal resemblance, « tigre fiera » and

Corneille gave Livy as the source of *Horace*, but he failed to mention Dionysius. Perhaps he thought of Livy's as the better known account, or else he looked upon him as a common source of his play and that of Mairet (5). It is interesting to note that in the dedicatory letter to *Horace* addressed to Richelieu and first printed in 1644 there is a reference to Scipion and Lélie, who are the leading Roman characters of Mairet's play.

For some years it has been thought that Corneille used Amyot's *Plutarque* in the composition of *Horace*. In several editions of Amyot printed before 1640, I have found no life of Tullus Hostilius, and Amyot's chief source, Plutarch, contains no account of the Horaces and the Curiaces, except a brief mention, a few lines in length (6). The late Professor Matzke was the first to make this error (7), and he was followed by Dr. Karl Liffert, who refers to the Plutarch-Amyot life of Tullus Hostilius, but rejects the indebtedness of Corneille, without, however, questioning the existence of the source (8). The first occurrence in French of a life of Tullus Hostilius that I have been able to find is one translated from the English of Thomas Rowe by the Abbé Bellanger in 1735 and subsequently included in a supplement to an edition of Amyot. From a comparison of the text of Bellanger with the extracts given by Matzke it is apparent that the latter used the eighteenth cen-

« tigre altéré de sang, » a reproach to Horace, is found, but the French may have been suggested by Dionysius, in which the sister asks her brother, « Of what wild beast hast thou the heart? » Finally Flavia's request to her brother to kill her is similar to that of Sabine — M. Martinenche mentions the incident in Lope, but fails to note the resemblance in *Horace* — but is too common a dramatic motif to be regarded as a basis of proof of indebtedness. (For M. Martinenche's discussion see *op. cit.*, pp. 224-35).

(5) In the *Au Lecteur* to Mairet's *Sophonisbe*, found in the edition of 1635, Mairet had said, « Le sujet de ceste Tragedie est dans Tite-Live, Polybe, et plus au long dans Apian Alexandrin. » (See Vollmöller's text, reprinted from the first edition, in *Sammlung französischer Neudrucke*, Heilbronn, Henninger, 1888, no. 8).

(6) In the *Historiarum Græcorum cum Romanis coniuncta recensio*.

(7) « A Neglected Source of Corneille's *Horace* », *M. P.*, I (1904), 345-54.

(8) *Der Einfluss der Quellen auf das dramatische Schaffen Pierre Corneilles in den ältesten Römertragödien [Horace, Cinna, Pompée]*, Jena, Langensalza, Wendt und Kaugwell, 1913.

tury text as a basis of comparison with Corneille's play. However, since the ultimate source of Bellanger is evidently Dionysius, many of the parallels which Matzke found hold good; but some of the most important borrowings from Dionysius are missing, owing to the fact that they are omitted by Bellanger.

The sources, then, of *Horace* are Mairet, Dionysius, Livy, and the dramatist's own previous experience in writing *Le Cid*, to which *Horace* shows many analogies (9).

↓ The symmetrical arrangement of relationships of the members of the two families is found in Dionysius :

For Sicinius, an Alban, having, about the same time, married his twin daughters to Horatius, a Roman, and to Curiatius, an Alban, and their wives, being with child at the same time, each of them was brought to bed, at her first lying-in, of three male children.

Dionysius, III, 13.

Hence, in the two families the mothers were twins, and the children were first cousins. Later the symmetry is disturbed by the birth of a daughter in the Horatian family and her subsequent engagement to one of her cousins. In the play Corneille restores the symmetry, with slight modification, by giving to the Curiatian family a daughter married to one of her cousins. There are several explanations for the differentiation of relationship of the two women : first, for dramatic purposes, to give variety, as in the case of Horace and Curia ; secondly, because of a suggestion from the Horatian family, in which the mother, mentioned by Dionysius as living at the time, had a husband in one camp and nephews and perhaps a sister in the other camp ; and thirdly, there is a married woman in Mairet's play who has a loved

(9) Petit de Julleville, in his *Théâtre choisi de Corneille*, would see in Camille an expiation of Chimène. He thinks that Camille, who dies for her sacrifice to love, was an attempt on the part of Corneille to compensate for the dénouement of *Le Cid*, which gave rise to the characterization of Chimène as a « fille dénaturée ». This view is untenable since (1) the sources furnished the dénouement of *Horace*, and Horace's sister is described by Dionysius as having an « ungoverned love », (2) there is no evidence that Corneille agreed with those who condemned his heroine (Chimène), and (3) Livy and Dionysius could well have been suggested by Mairet's *Sophonisbe* and not by a deliberate attempt to find a story in which ungoverned love suffers punishment.

one in the opposite camp. Of course, Sophonisbe does not remind one at first sight of Sabine, since the former took a definite stand, whereas the latter wavered consistently throughout the play. However, in the first act and part of the second of Mairet's play, Sophonisbe struggles between duty to her husband and love for Massinisse, and like Sabine does not know what to ask of the gods.

Allons y donc Phenice,
Et de peur de prier contre mon propre bien,
En adorant les Dieux ne leur demandons rien.
Sophonisbe, I, 3; 330-2.

Furthermore, the episodic nature of the rôle of Sabine would lead one to think that Corneille found her in his immediate sources, as in the case of the characters of *Ægée* (*Médée*) and the Infante (*Le Cid*). Hence, there is little reason for accepting M. Martinenche's conclusions that Sabine was suggested by Lope's Flavia, a Roman matron engaged to Horacio. As to the opinion of M. Bernardin that Sabine may have been suggested by Bérénice of La Calprenède's *Mort de Mithridate*, I am unable to come to a definite decision, owing to the inaccessibility of the play. Professor Lancaster says,

Bernardin points out the resemblance between this rôle [of Bérénice] and that of Sabine, for not only are the situations of the two women somewhat similar, but both are willing to suffer vicariously;

and tells us that Bérénice was married to Pharnaces, son of Mithridate, and that she took the side of her father-in-law against her husband in the opposite camp (10). However, I can say that Bérénice is unlike Sabine, since the former comes to a definite decision, and that her situation is less complicated, since her husband is a traitor. On the contrary, the husbands of both Sophonisbe and Sabine are honorable and worthy of faithfulness. The suggestion for the rôle of Sabine came, apparently, from Mairet and Dionysius, though Corneille may have drawn to some extent on La Calprenède's play for characterization.

(10) H. Carrington Lancaster, « La Calprenède Dramatist, » *M. P.*, XVII (1920-21), 125-130.

Valère comes from Dionysius, one of the « persons of no small distinction » who came before the king to ask for the proper punishment of Horace, a rôle which he plays in Corneille. He becomes the rejected lover, a Cornelian invention, as in the cases of *Ægée (Médée)* and Don Sanche (*Le Cid*). In the three instances the sources suggested toward the end of the story a personage whom Corneille adopted and used for this rôle (*amant rebuté*), introducing the character early in the play. Julie, the *confidente* of Camille and Sabine, plays a rôle similar to that of the *confidentes* of Sophonisbe, who bring back news of the battle, the mistresses remaining in both plays at home and on the stage. Again, in Dionysius Horace's sister has a nurse, who is supposed to see that she remains at home and does not mingle with the crowds. Corneille omits the mother of Horace, mentioned in Dionysius, or perhaps he incorporates her rôle into that of Sabine. He further suppresses mention of the blood relationship of the two sets of twins, in conformity with his tendency toward simplicity as seen in *Le Cid*.

The subject of the play, patriotism in conflict with « domestic affinity », is well depicted by Dionysius, as well as the struggle within a single family. In Livy Horace accuses his sister of forgetfulness of her country, but patriotism is not mentioned elsewhere in his account. On the other hand, Tullus and the senate in Dionysius debate the question of the advisability of asking the Horaces to defend their country in combat with their cousins and finally leave the decision wholly with the youths. Tullus said in addressing the three Horaces,

« This is the resolution of the senate, who will neither be offended with you, if you shew a backwardness to the undertaking, nor think themselves under a small obligation to you, if you prefer your country to your affinity : may you take such a resolution, as becomes you ! »

Dionysius., III, 16.

The youths felt that they should confer with their father before making a final decision, and in the following section of Dionysius (III, 17) is described at length the family council. The father asks the sons not to consider him, but to make their own decision, whereupon they answer in the affirmative, not debating the question of taking up arms against their cousins,

since the latter have already broken the bonds of affinity by accepting the call of their country :

To this the eldest made answer ; « Father, we would accept this combat for the sovereignty, and resolve to suffer whatever the gods should ordain : For we had rather die, than live unworthily both of you, and of our ancestors. We shall not first break the bonds of affinity, that unite us to our cousins ; but since fortune has, already, dissolved them, we shall acquiesce in it. For, if the Curia-tii set a less value upon their relation to us, than upon their honor, the Horatii, also, shall prefer their virtue to their affinity. » Dionys., III, 17.

Thus the subject of patriotism versus family ties is proposed to the Horaces, and in the family council the matter is discussed and a decision reached in favor of the affirmative. This becomes the subject and the problem of the play. Corneille extended the psychological conflict to the daughter of Old Horace, who was not present at the family council, and to the wife of Horace, his invention. In so doing he was guided by his previous experience in depicting Chimène, and the mental struggle of Mairêt's Sophonisbe.

The strict observance of the unity of place in *Horace* has been attributed to the influence of the *Cid* quarrel, a conclusion to which a number of objections may be raised. First, Corneille had shown a tendency in this direction in reworking *Las Mocedades del Cid* ; secondly, greater freedom in this respect is displayed in *Cinna*, on which Corneille was probably at work before the appearance of *Horace* ; and thirdly, the action of *Horace* needs only a single room, since all the members of the family could meet at any time in the same place, and the king's appearance at the home of one of his subjects to preside over the trial of the son has a precedent in the life of Augustus as related by Seneca in his *De Clementia* (I, 15), a source of *Cinna*, and, perhaps, of the fifth act of *Horace*.

The opening scene of the play presents Sabine torn between duty to her husband and love of her brothers in the enemy camp (11). It may have been suggested by Mairêt's *Sophonisbe*, I, 3 and II, 1, in which the heroine shows remorse for her

(11) In the following analysis of the play the borrowings from Livy will not be given, since they are known, and Dr. K. Liffert (*op. cit.*) has printed them at length. In attributions to Dionysius I shall endeavor to make sure that they could not have come from Livy.

faithlessness to her husband and for her love of his enemy, Massinisse. Neither woman makes a definite decision as to the stand she will take and both decide to ask nothing of the gods :

SABINE.

Puis-je former des vœux, et sans
impiété
Importuner le ciel pour ta félicité [de
Rome] ?

Hor., I, 1 ; 37-8.

SOPHONISBE.

Allons y donc Phenice,
Et de peur de prier contre mon propre
bien,
En adorant les Dieux ne leur deman-
dons rien.

Soph., I, 3 ; 330-2.

The somewhat vacillating nature of Sophonisbe in the first part of the play is characteristic of Sabine throughout her rôle, and may have suggested to Corneille the chief trait of the latter. In the following scene (I, 2) Camille struggles with a problem similar to that of Sabine and Sophonisbe. She arrives at the hasty conclusion that she will never be willing to marry Curiace :

Cher amant, n'attends plus d'être un jour mon époux ;
(I, 2 ; 230),

a decision similar to that of Chimène after Rodrigue has killed her father. Like Sophonisbe she has disburbing dreams :

CAMILLE.

Mille songes affreux, mille images
sanglantes,
M'ont arraché ma joie et rendu ma
terreur.

Hor., II, 1 ; 216, 218.

SOPHONISBE.

Les songes que ie fais depuis deux ou
trois nuits,
Ne me presagent pas de vulgaires
ennuis.

Soph., II, 1 ; 453-9.

Camille's consultation of the representative of the oracular god Apollo (I, 2) was characteristic of the ancients. Julie's advice to her to give up her fiancé for her suitor Valère is suggested by Scipion's advice to Massinisse and is similar to that of Don Diègue to his son Rodrigue (*Le Cid*, III, 6 ; 1058), also based, perhaps, on Mairet.

JULIE.

On peut changer d'amant, mais non
changer d'époux.
Oubliez Curiace, et recevez Valère,
Hor., I, 2 ; 146-7.

SCIPION.

Sophonisbe n'est pas la dernière des
fâmes.
Assez d'autres encor sont dignes de
vos flâmes.

Soph., V, 6 ; 1732-3.

The three lovers, Massinisse, Rodrigue, and Camille, reject such proposals as dishonorable. Compare the replies of the last two :

CAMILLE.

D'un serment solennel qui peut nous
dégager ?

Hor., I, 2 ; 158.

RODRIGUE.

Ma foi m'engage encor si je n'espère
plus :

Le Cid, III, 6 ; 1068.

Scene 3 of act I offers several details differing from Livy and based on Dionysius. First, the causes of the war between Rome and Alba are trifling :

CURIACE [reporting speech of Suffetius].

Et noyons dans l'oubli ces petits diffé-
rends.

Hor., I, 3 ; 301.

SUFFETIUS.

« I considered what were the causes,
which had disturbed the peace of
our cities ; and finding them frivo-
lous,... »

Dionys., III, 7.

Secondly, the manner of choosing the combatants to represent their respective cities. Livy recounts that an expedient was sought and that fortune provided the means, namely, there were then male triplets on either side, and that the respective kings ordered them to defend their country. In Dionysius (III, 12), as in Corneille, a decision is reached between the representatives of the two cities that three men on either side should be chosen, after which the assembly breaks up :

Trois combattront pour tous ; mais
pour les mieux choisir,
Nos chefs ont voulu prendre un peu
plus de loisir.

Hor., I, 3 ; 325-6.

For which reason, he [Suffetius] proposed that three chosen men of each city should fight in the presence of all the Albans, and Romans ;... This proposal being approved,... the assembly broke up.

Dionys., III, 12.

Before making a decision, Tullus consults the senate :

Le vôtre [le chef des Romains] est au
sénat.

Hor., I, 3 ; 327.

« I [Tullus] assembled the senate ».

Dionys., III, 16.

In Dionysius the men of the respective armies contended for the honor of representing their country, and there seems to be an echo of this in Corneille :

CURIACE.

Ce choix pouvoit combler trois familles
de gloire.

Hor., II, 1; 355.

There arose a wonderful emulation
among the officers, and soldiers,
many, earnestly desiring to obtain
the honors due to the conquerors.

Dionys., III, 13.

For the differentiation of the characters of Horace and Curiace (I, 2 and 3) Corneille found suggestions in Dionysius. First, Tullus and the Roman senate hesitated long in asking the Horaces to fight against their cousins and gave assurance that it would not be counted against them, if, in their unwillingness to commit « domestic murder », they did not accept the challenge (*Dionys.*, III, 6). Later, when the six combatants met on the field of battle, they ran « to each other, embraced, and wept, uttering such expressions of tenderness, that all the spectators melted into tears » (*Dionys.*, III, 18). The humane attitude of Tullus and the senate and the mutual affection of the cousins are given in the play to Curiace only; whereas the inhuman, if not barbarian, nature of Horace is derived from the conventional idea of the ancient Roman as described by Dionysius and attributed by him to the father of Horace:

But so averse to vice, and so exalted were the manners, and minds of the Romans at that time, and, to compare them with the actions, and lives of Those of our age, so cruel and severe, and so little differing from a savage fierceness...

Dionys., III, 21.

Hence, Corneille expresses the judgment of Dionysius on Roman character when he makes Curiace exclaim,

Je rends grâces 'aux Dieux de n'être pas Romain,
Pour conserver encor quelque chose d'humain.

(II, 3; 481-2),

and puts into the mouth of Horace the reply characteristic of the ancient Roman,

La solide vertu dont je fais vanité
N'admet point de foiblesse avec sa fermeté.

(II, 3; 485-6).

The contrast between Roman severity and respect for human

ties is found also in Mairêt when Lélie tries to persuade Massinisse to give up Sophonisbe for reasons of state :

LELIE.

Ne condamnez donc point avecque vos murmures
Ny nos mœurs, ny nos loix.

MASS.

O Dieux qu'elles sont dures !
En effet il est vray, ie serois plus qu'ingrat,
Si ie ne respondois aux biens-faits du Senat :
Mais ie serois moins qu'hôte ou bié plus que barbare,
Si ie ne fremissois du mal qu'on me prepare :
Sophonisbe, V, 2 ; 1564-70.

A variant of the « tête » motif, found in Castro and used in *Le Cid* recurs in this play :

CAMILLE.

Tu pourras donc, cruel, me présenter
sa tête,
Et demander ma main pour prix de
ta conquête !

Hor., II, 5 ; 567-8.

CHIMÈNE.

A tous vos cavaliers je demande sa
tête :
Oui, qu'un d'eux me l'apporte, et je
suis sa conquête.

Le Cid, IV, 5 ; 1401-2.

In the concluding scenes of act III (6, 7, and 8) the courage of the combatants struggles with the feelings aroused by their leavetaking until finally the father reestablishes the stoic attitude. The request of Horace that the women remain at home in order not to disturb the combatants by their tears is justified by Livy and Dionysius, from whom we infer that the sister of Horace did not witness the combat. Furthermore, in Dionysius the father was not present, for afterwards Horace « hastened to the city, to give his father the first news of the victory » (III, 20). His absence may be considered improbable, as some critics hold, but it is interesting to note that Corneille was following his source and that the results are felicitous, as Petit de Julleville justly remarks (12), since they make possible the famous scenes of act III. While the family, with the exception of the combatants, remains at home, Julie, the *confidente* of Sabine and Camille, twice returns with news of

(12) *Op. cit.*, p. 315, n. 1.

the contest. The situation is analogous to that of Sophonisbe's attendants :

SOPHONISBE [à Corisbé et Phenice].

Rendez-vous au sommet de la plus haute tour,
D'où l'œil descouvre à plain tous les châps d'alentour ;
Et que de temps en temps l'une ou l'autre descende,
Pour m'asseurer tousiours des maux que l'apprehède.

Soph., II, 1 ; 343-6.

Scene 1 of act III is probably based on *Sophonisbe* II, 1. In both plays a married woman living in the country of her adoption eagerly awaits the outcome of a combat. Within there is a conflict of mind and heart, and Sabine often reminds one of Sophonisbe. Compare the passages beginning :

SABINE.

SOPHONISBE.

Flatteuse illusion, erreur douce et
grossière,
Vain effort de mon âme, impuis-
sante lumière...

Hor., III, 1 ; 739-40

O sagesse ! O raison ! adorables
lumières,
Rendez à mon esprit vos clartez
coutumières.

Soph., II, 1 ; 353-5.

In scene 2, based on Dionysius, Julie reports that the armies murmured against the choice of combatants so closely affiliated and that they accused their chiefs of insensibility.

JULIE.

On a dans les deux camps entendu
murmurer :
A voir de tels amis, des personnes si
proches.
Venir pour leur patrie aux mortelles
approches,

Tous accusent leurs chefs, tous détes-
tent leur choix ;

Hor., III, 2 ; 782-4, 790.

[At the sight of the combatants] all
the spectators melted into tears, and
accused both themselves, and their
leaders of insensibility in confining
the combat for the sovereignty of
the cities to kindred blood.

Dionys., III, 18.

Hence, the separation of the combatants and the subsequent suspension of the narrative may be attributed to suggestions from Dionysius. The consulting of the gods in grave matters is often mentioned by this historian :

JULIE [reporting words of Tulle].

TULLUS [to Fuffetius].

« Consultons des grands Dieux la
majesté sacrée ».

Hor., III, 2 ; 815.

« And, when, we performed the sacrifices preparatory to war, we were forbidden by them [the gods] to begin an engagement ».

Dionys., III, 9.

In scene 3 Camille expresses a thought contrary to the spirit of both Livy and Dionysius, that

Et la voix du public n'est pas toujours leur voix [des Dieux].

III, 3 ; 842.

an evident preparation for the dénouement, in which the king will be the final arbiter and not the people as in the sources (13). In scene 4 Camille, whom Dionysius described as having an « ungoverned love for one of her cousins » (III, 24), speaks of the irresistible power of love. She often reminds one of Sophonisbe. Compare :

CAMILLE.

SOPHONISBE.

Vous ne connoissez point ni l'amour
ni ses traits :

On peut lui résister quand il commen-
ce à naître.

Mais non pas le bannir quand il s'est
rendu maître.

Hor., III, 4 ; 918-20.

Et qu'il faut obeir à ce Dieu qui
m'ordonne

De suivre les conseils que sa fureur
me donne.

Soph., II, 1 ; 361-2.

Old Horace reports that the gods have ordered the resumption of the combat between the Horaces and the Curiaces. Leaving the final decision to the gods may have been suggested by Dionysius, who says that Tullus did not wish to assume the responsibility of causing « domestic murder » :

For the impiety of domestic murder, if they [the Horaces and the Curiaces] are reduced to a necessity of committing it, will, deservedly, fall on us, who are the authors of that necessity.

Dionys., III, 15.

The suggestion for the reproaches addressed by Old Horace to

(13) Cf. *Hor.*, V, 3 ; 1711-1720, for thought similar to that of Camille.

his son, whom he believes in cowardly flight, is from Dionysius :

LE VIEIL HORACE.

Que sa fuite honteuse.... après ce
lâche tour.

Hor., III, 9 ; 1018, 1029.

And the Romans reproached their
combatant with cowardice.

Dionys., III, 20.

In Livy the Romans give up hope, but without reproaching Horace. From Dionysius comes, also, the question of family honor, which is at stake. In the family council in Dionysius (III, 17) the eldest of the three sons had said, « Father... we had rather die, than live unworthy both of you, and our ancestors, » a sentiment similar to the famous « Qu'il mourût » of the father, for he says

Il [Horace] eût avec honneur laissé mes cheveux gris.

(III, 6 ; 1025) (14).

The fourth act depicts Camille's love in its struggle with the severity of what her father considers to be the demands of family honor and duty to country. The lack of consideration given to family ties when the interests of country are at stake is well depicted by Dionysius ; but in visualizing the revolt of Camille Corneille was aided by Mairet's play, in which Massinisse rebelled under similar circumstances against « les dures lois » of Rome. Both Camille and Massinisse ask whether they will be expected to kiss the hand which pierces their heart, both are expected to forget the objects of their love and take another worthy of them, both revolt at the thought of faithlessness and finally give vent to their wrath in imprecations against Rome, which has robbed them of their loved one, now dead. Furthermore, Sabine, like Sophonisbe, feels that suicide is the only way to escape from her difficult position.

The pleadings of Camille in behalf of her brother (III, 1) are Corneille's invention. The sacrifice to the gods in gratitude for victory is based on Dionysius (III, 22). The misunderstanding

(14) The motif of family honor is prominent in Dionysius, but is not found in Livy. In the former, Horace says to his sister « O thou.... disgrace to thy ancestors ». (III, 21).

of the purport of Valère's message (IV, 2) is a repetition of a motif in *Le Cid* (V, 5). Lack of consideration for human affections in time of public rejoicing is based on Dionysius :

LE VIEIL HORACE.

On pleure injustement des pertes
domestiques,
Quand on en voit sortir des victoires
publiques.

Hor., IV, 3 ; 1175-6.

The same day this [the death of the daughter] happened, he [the father] gave his relations a magnificent entertainment, as upon the greatest festivals ; making less account of his private calamities, than of the general advantages of his country.

Dionys., III, 21.

The old Roman's advice to his daughter in regard to seeking another lover recalls that of Scipion to Massinisse. Both are offered the consolation that they may have great freedom of choice. Rodrigue was also advised to give up Chimène, since there were « tant de maitresses. » (See note 17 of the preceding chapter on *Le Cid*.)

LE VIEIL HORACE.

En la mort d'un amant vous ne perdez
qu'un homme
Dont la perte est aisée à réparer dans
Rome ;
Après cette victoire, il n'est point de
Romain
Qui ne soit glorieux de vous donner
la main.

Hor., IV, 3 ; 1179-82.

SCIPION.

Sophonisbe n'est pas la dernière des
âmes,
Assez d'autres encor sont dignes de
vos flammes.

Soph., V, 6 ; 1732-3.

Camille characterizes her father as tyrannical and thinks that his virtue resembles brutality, echoing the opinion of Dionysius :

... ces cruels tyrans
Qu'un astre injurieux nous donne pour
parents.
.....
Quand la brutalité fait la haute
vertu...

Hor., IV, 4 ; 1197-8, 1242.

But so averse to vice, and so exalted were the manners, and minds of the Romans at that time, and, to compare them with the actions, and lives of Those of our age, so cruel and severe, and so little differing from a savage fierceness...

Dionys., III, 21.

She complains of the cruelty of being asked to applaud the one who has killed her lover. Her words resemble those of Massinisse :

CAMILLE.

MASSINISSE.

Il me faut applaudir aux exploits du vainqueur,
Et baiser une main qui me perce le cœur.

Ou si ie baisera le bras qui n'assasine ?

Soph., V, 2 ; 1541.

Hor., IV, 4 ; 1233-4.

That Corneille was following *Sophonisbe* at this point is further seen in the words of Horace :

Ma sœur, voici le bras qui venge nos deux frères (1251).

As in Dionysius, Horace expects his sister to rejoice in his victory :

Et rends ce que tu dois à l'heur de ma victoire.

Hor., IV, 5 ; 1256.

[On seeing his sister come to meet him Horace concludes that she is] desirous, in the first place, to embrace her surviving brother, and, after that, to receive an account from him of the gallant behaviour of her deceased brothers.

Dionys., III, 21.

The mutual reproaches of brother and sister (1268-1300) are based on a lengthy dialogue recounted by Dionysius (III, 21). The sister accuses her brother of lack of human sentiments :

Donne-moi donc, barbare, un cœur comme le tien ;

[Sister to Horace].

Tigre altéré de sang.

« Of what wild beast hast thou the heart ? »

Hor., IV, 5 ; 1278, 1287.

Dionys., III, 21.

The brother replies that his sister has not the proper concern for the death of her brothers, for the happiness of her country, and the honor of her family :

HORACE.

[Sister to Horace].

Crois-tu...
Que je souffre en mon sang ce mortel déshonneur ?
Aime, aime cette mort qui fait notre bonheur,
Et préfère du moins au souvenir d'un homme
Ce que doit ta naissance aux intérêts de Rome.

[Thou] dost neither rejoice in the common happiness of thy country, wicked wretch, nor grieve at the calamities of thy own family, but, forgetting the death of thy brothers, thou lamentest That of thy lover ;... thou enemy of thy brothers, and disgrace to thy ancestors !

Hor., IV, 5 ; 1296-1300.

Dionys., III, 21.

The imprecations against Rome (IV, 5; 1301-1318) were inspired by those of Massinisse, (*Soph.* V, 8) who, like Camille, rebelled against the harsh laws of Rome,

O Dieux qu'elles [les lois de Rome] sont dures !
Soph., V, 2 ; 1566.

As Horace lifts his sword to kill his sister, he bids her, as in Dionysius (and Livy) join her lover in death :

Va dedans les enfers joindre ton	«Since.... thy body is with the living,
Curiace (var., 1641-1656).	but thy mind with the dead, go to
Va dedans les enfers plaindre ton	him, whom thou callest upon. »
Curiace (later editions).	Dionys., III, 21.
<i>Hor.</i> , IV, 5 ; 1320.	

The last two scenes (6 and 7) of act IV have been characterized as useless. They may be due to suggestions from the sources. First, Corneille wished to present the type of Roman who would show no remorse after committing a murder in the name of patriotism, a trait of the father in Dionysius, but of the son in the play :

PROCULE.

Que venez-vous de faire ?

HORACE.

Un acte de justice.
Hor., IV, 6 ; 1323.

The father, when informed of this heinous fact [the murder of his daughter], was so far from resenting it, that he looked upon it as a glorious, and becoming action.

Dionys., III, 21.

On the other hand, the father in the play is more humane, and condemns his son for dishonoring himself :

Toi, d'avoir par sa mort déshonoré ta main (vs. 1414).

Secondly, the dramatist wished to depict the woman whose only escape seems now to be death, a situation similar to that of Sophonisbe,

Et n'employons après que nous à notre mort.

Hor., IV, 7 ; 1402.

Then, too, Sabine, like her prototype, asks the aid of her husband in accomplishing her death (compare *Horace*, IV, 7; 1339-40 and Sophonisbe's request for poison, *Sophonisbe*, V, 3).

In the fifth act Corneille rejected the trial before the Roman people and allowed the king to render the final decision. Preparation for the dénouement is found in the contempt for the *vox populi* and the belief in kings as the representatives of the divine will (III, 3; 842-846). At the trial, the father of Horace characterizes the people as « stupide » and prefers to rest the case of his son with kings or nobles (V, 3; 1711-1720). Among the motives for the rejection of the trial before the people and the choice of the king as final arbiter were Corneille's previous experience in the dénouement of *Le Cid*, the detailed account of the trial before the king in Dionysius (III, 22), the difficulty of staging a trial before the people as in Livy, and, perhaps, a concession to the form of the French government at the time of the play.

The appearance of the king at the house of his subject to preside at the trial of the son finds an interesting parallel in an incident in the life of Augustus as related by Seneca in the *De Clementia*, a source of *Cinna*, on which Corneille was at work probably before he finished *Horace*. According to Seneca, Augustus was invited by Tarius to sit in judgment with him at the trial of his son. Augustus comes to the house of Tarius, asks all present to testify, then gives the young man an opportunity to speak in his own behalf, and finally passes judgment (15). The trial of Horace in the play is conducted in the same way, and, hence, Corneille had historical precedent for the appearance of Tullus at the house of his subject and for the conduct of the trial in the way in which he depicts it. The strict observance of the unity of place does not, therefore, violate Roman customs as Corneille understood them.

In the opening scene of the fifth act the father condemns his son for having dishonored himself through the murder of his sister, which, as we have seen, is contrary to Dionysius, who tells us that the father considered the deed glorious. The king enters (V, 2) to do honor to the father for the signal services of his son and is subsequently requested to pass judgment on the murderer. Now Valère is a « chevalier romain » and speaks for the « gens de bien », not for the people as a whole, as

(15) *De Clementia*, I, 15.

might be suspected from the account in Livy. Corneille here follows Dionysius (III, 22), who says that « some persons of no small distinction » brought accusations to Tullus against Horace. The long speech which they are said to have made, but which Dionysius fails to give, suggested to Corneille the speech of Valère (V, 2; 1481-1534). There is at least one parallel, the fear of the wrath of the gods :

VALÈRE.

En ce lieu Rome a vu le premier
 l'arricide ;
La suite en est à craindre, et la haine
 des dieux :
Sauvez-nous de sa main, et redoutez
 les Dieux.

Hor., V, 2 ; 1532-4.

Some persons of no small distinction.... made a long speech, quoting the laws, that allowed no person to be put to death without a trial; and giving instances of the anger of the gods against those cities, which had neglected to punish criminals.

Dionys., III, 22.

Horace's defense (V, 2; 1535-94) may have been suggested by Seneca, as has been said. His persistent refusal to express regret at the murder of his sister is again characteristic of the severity of the father in Dionysius. Sabine's offer to die vicariously finds a parallel, as has been shown by M. Bernardin, in La Calprenède's *Mort de Mithridate*. The father, then, takes up the defense of his son as in Dionysius, at the trial before the king :

On the other hand, the father spoke in favor of the youth. (III, 22.).

Finally the king acquits Horace for reasons similar to those given by Tullus in Dionysius. Compare *Horace*, V, 3; 1739-1758. with :

For he did not think it justifiable.... to punish as a murderer, a person, who had, voluntarily, exposed his life for the service of his country, and invested her with so great power.

Dionys., III, 22.

However, purification ceremonies must be performed for Horace, as in both Livy and Dionysius, and the king orders Camille to be properly buried, a suggestion from Livy :

Horatium sepulcrum, quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est saxo quadrato.
Livy, I, 26.

This is contrary to Dionysius, who comments on the severity of the father, attributed in the play to the son, by saying,

Neither would he [the father] suffer his daughter's body to be brought into the house, nor allow her to be buried in the monument of her ancestors, or to be honored with a funeral pomp,... but she lay exposed in the place, where she was slain, and the passengers, covering her with stones, and earth, buried her as a corpse destitute of all regard.

Dionys., III. 21.

In conclusion : the inspiration for the writing of *Horace* seems to have come again from the contemporary stage as in the preceding two tragedies. Mairet's *Sophonisbé* probably suggested the dramatic qualities of Dionysius and Livy, and as in *Médée* and *Le Cid* so in *Horace* Corneille visualized his creation through another play. The episodic rôle of Sabine is best explained as originating in the sources (Mairet and Dionysius) as is clearly the case with *Ægée (Médée)* and the Infante (*Le Cid*). For the delineation of the heroine Corneille drew largely on Mairet's Massinisse, whom he had probably seen on the stage. The subject of the play, patriotism in conflict with family ties, is clearly defined in Dionysius, as well as many other points hitherto attributed to Corneille's invention. The same source and an incident in the life of Augustus as related by Seneca justify Corneille in staging the trial before the king in the house of a subject. Hence, the influence of the *réguliers* did not cause Corneille to abandon verisimilitude. Finally, it has been shown that Lope de Vega's *El honrado hermano* and the so-called Plutarch-Amyot *Life of Tullus Hostilius* were not used in the composition of *Horace*.

CHAPTER IV

CINNA

The influence of the contemporary stage is the important factor in the genesis of *Cinna*, as in the preceding three tragedies. During the *Cid* quarrel Corneille familiarized himself with *La Mort de César* of Georges de Scudéry, contemporary dramatist and self-appointed critic of *Le Cid*. Instead of replying by a counter-attack in the form of an analysis of his rival's play, he began the dramatization of an event in the life of Augustus similar in many respects to the conspiracy against Julius Caesar as portrayed in that play. And, as we shall see later, the same play furnished suggestions for *Polyeucte* and possibly the theme of *Pompée*, the two tragedies immediately following *Cinna*. With the recognition of his willingness to accept suggestions from Rotrou, Mairet, and Scudéry, Corneille ceases to occupy an isolated position and becomes the master mind of a group of co-workers furnishing plays of a type which the French theatre-goers were treating with favor (1).

When due recognition is given to the influence of the contemporary stage, that of certain events, interesting and alluring as it may be, is difficult to establish. The theory of

(1) The general interest in Roman history has been mentioned in the preceding chapter. For staging a political discussion, as in *Cinna*, Corneille had several precedents, such as Hardy's *Timoclée* and Guérin de Bouscal's *Suite de la mort de César* (printed 1636). The latter has a discussion of the relative merits of a republic and a strong central government, as in *Cinna*. (For these references I am indebted to Professor Lancaster.)

Edouard Fournier, who attributed the genesis of *Cinna* to an uprising in Normandy, has already been sufficiently refuted by Petit de Julleville (2). M. Gaston Deschamps says that discussions on clemency were common at the time of the composition of *Cinna* and compares Emilie of the play to Mme de Chevreuse, who conspired against Richelieu, and says that Auguste resembles the Cardinal in the display of clemency (3). Finally, Dr. G. L. van Roosbroeck would see in the conspiracy of Mme de Chevreuse and others against Richelieu a very close connection, if not the genesis of *Cinna* (4). The theory of M. Deschamps, elaborated in an interesting way by Dr. van Roosbroeck, is, however, untenable in view of the influence of Scudéry's play and Corneille's previous experience in writing *Le Cid* (5).

The following parallel suggests the way in which Scudéry's play may have suggested to Corneille the story of Augustus as related in Senecas's *De Clementia*, I, 9 :

La Mort de César.

César is conspired against by the man whom he believes to be his best friend, Brute. He is accused of hostility to republican ideals and of ambition to establish himself as absolute sovereign. The question of clemency and its advisability in the case of a ruler is a leading motif :

La douceur de César se trouvera
deceüe
Et sa clémence enfin n'aura pas bonne
issuë.

De Clementia.

Augustus is conspired against by Cinna upon whom he has showered favors. He has shown ambition for absolute authority, and is tempted to punish this conspirator as he has done with many other enemies. Like Julius Caesar he is inclined toward clemency.

(II, 1).

(2) *Théâtre choisi de Corneille*, Paris, 9^e éd. 1913, pp. 362 ff.

(3) « Cinna, » *R. c. c.*, XIV (1905), pp. 36 ff.

(4) « Corneille's *Cinna* and the *Conspiration des Dames*, » *M. P.*, XX (1922), 1-17. Dr. van Roosbroeck overlooked the article of M. Deschamps.

(5) Clemency is a prominent motif in Scudéry's *Mort de César*. Porcie, wife of Brute, and daughter of Cato of Utica, attributes the death of her father to Jules César, just as Emilie does that of hers to Auguste. Furthermore, the heroine of *Cinna* becomes the « soul of the conspiracy » through the use of the « tête » motif, found in Guillén de Castro and utilized by Corneille in *Le Cid*. She displays a persistence in her desire similar to that of Chimène. The only use which Corneille could have made of the *Conspiration des Dames* is the

The parallel stops here, for César dies because of his trustfulness and Augustus, through clemency, rids himself of his enemies.

With the subject of the new play in mind Corneille read Dio, Suetonius, Livy, Valerius Maximus, and Appian, for details of the life of Augustus and for supplementary material with which to lead up to the noble deed of clemency as depicted in the ninth chapter of the *De Clementia*. He read, also, the whole of the *De Clementia* — which critics have often failed to do — and found there the discussion of the type of clemency of which Augustus was capable. He may have read Cicero's letters, which give expression to republican aspirations. If he read Tacitus, he rejected the unfavorable picture of Augustus given there.

With Scudéry's play to work from, the choice of personages was not difficult, since history afforded similar characters and situations :

La Mort de César.

ROMAN HISTORY.

César.	Augustus.
Calpurnie, his wife.	Livia, his wife.
Brute and Cassie, conspirators and false friends.	Cinna and <i>unus ex consociis</i> [Maxime], conspirators (Cinna is a false friend).
Antoine and Lévide, counsellors and true friends	Mæcenus and Agrippa, counsellors and true friends.
Porcie, wife of Brute, the conspirator, and daughter of Cato of Utica, for whose death she blames César.	The daughter of Toranius, whose name Augustus allowed to be placed on the list of the proscribed.

Augustus, Livia, Cinna, and *unus ex consociis* [Maxime] who betrayed his fellows are found in Seneca. Mæcenus and Agrippa are the counsellors with whom, according to Dio, Augustus conferred concerning the form of government. Their rôles Corneille combined with those of Cinna and Maxime :

Vous, qui me tenez lieu d'Agrippe et de Mécène.

(I, 1 ; 393.)

The daughter of Toranius, hitherto considered Corneille's invention, is found in Appian :

suggestion for the wavering of Cinna, who acts somewhat like Chalais, but this resemblance is too slight to be convincing.

When the old man [Thuranius] knew this, he asked for another very short interval until he could see his daughter (6).

To this daughter Corneille gives the name of Emilie, used in Scudéry to designate a minor character. He completes the list of *personnages* by giving to Emilie a *confidente*, a stock character, and to each of the three male characters an *affranchi*, suggested by Scudéry's play, in which, however, César alone is thus provided.

In writing the rôle of the heroine, Corneille imagines her animated as is Porcie (Scudéry) by the desire of vengeance for the death of a father, a desire which must have been shared by the daughter of Toranius. He adds that the father has been killed by the hand of Auguste, contrary to history, a situation suggested by his own play, *Le Cid* :

Que par sa propre main mon père massacré....

Cinna, I, 1; 11,

and allows the heroine to use the means employed by Chimène in seeking vengeance, namely, the offering of her love in exchange for the head of the slayer of her father :

ÉMILIE.

CHIMÈNE.

Sa tête [d'Auguste] est le seul prix
dont il [Cinna] peut m'acquérir.

Cinna, I, 2; 56.

A tous vos cavaliers je demande sa
tête [de Rodrigue] :

Où, qu'un d'eux me l'apporte, et je suis
sa conquête.

Le Cid, IV, 5; 1401-2.

Emilie, then, becomes the soul of the conspiracy, persistent, as was Chimène, in the face of all opposition. She is further characterized, like Brute of Scudéry's play, as animated by a love of liberty (I, 2; 107-110) and like him is the adopted child of the emperor. Hence, one need not seek in contemporary events the prototype of the heroine of *Cinna*. The rôle of the « *amant rebuté* », used by Corneille in *Médée*, *Le Cid*, and *Horace* is here given to Maxime. His love of Emilie makes of him a rival of Cinna and gives him a motive for the betrayal

(6) Appian's *Roman History*, tr. by Horace White, London, Heineman; New York, Macmillan, 1913, IV, 171 (« Civil Wars, » IV, 18).

of the latter. Of him Seneca says merely : *unus ex consciis deferebat*.

The scene of the conspiracy as related by Seneca is in Gaul : *sed quum... in Gallia moraretur* [Augustus] (7). Corneille shifted it to Rome, where the conspiracy against Julius Caesar took place, as in Scudéry's play :

La scène est à Rome. *Cinna*.

La Scene est à Rome. *Mort de César*.

No attempt was made in *Cinna* to observe the strict unity of place as in *Horace*. The simplest explanation is that the source of the former demands at least two separate places, one for the meeting of the conspirators and the other for Auguste, while that of the latter requires only one room. Furthermore, for the representation of the play of Scudéry, Corneille's chief critic during the *Cid* quarrel, the scene must be multiplex, a sufficient precedent for the staging of *Cinna*.

In the opening scene Emilie is depicted as engaged to Cinna, the chief conspirator, instead of married to him as is Porcie to Brute in *La Mort de César* (8). The change is due to Corneille's previous experience in writing *Le Cid*. Like Chimène the heroine of *Cinna* offers her hand in exchange for the death of the one who has slain her father (vs. 56). The parallel is made closer by attributing it to a personal deed of Auguste :

Que par sa propre main mon père massacré....

(I, 1 ; 11),

whereas, historically, Augustus merely allowed the name of Toranius to be put on the list of those proscribed. In seeking

(7) *De Cl.*, I, 9. (See M.-L., III, 373).

(8) In the following analysis of the play mention will be made of Corneille's indebtedness to Scudéry's *Mort de César* and to Appian's *Roman History* (« Civil Wars »), to which due credit has not hitherto been given by commentators. Parallels to Seneca's *De Clementia*, the *Life of Augustus* by Suetonius, and Dio's *Roman History*, will be omitted, with certain exceptions, since they have been given in detail by Dr. Karl Liffert, *Der Einfluss der Quellen auf das dramatische Schaffen Pierre Corneilles in den ältesten Römertragödien*, Jena, Langensalza, Wendt und Klangwell, 1913, chap. on *Cinna*. Appian is overlooked by Liffert as a source of *Cinna*, I, 3, the account of the proscriptions being falsely attributed by him to Suetonius and Dio.

vengeance she fears lest her lover be slain, experiencing emotions similar to those of Porcie in regard to her husband. The scene seems to be based on *La Mort de Cæsar*, IV, 4.

EMILIE.

Impatients desirs d'une illustre vengeance
Dont la mort de mon père a formé la naissance,
Enfants impétueux de mon ressentiment,
Que ma douleur séduite embrasse aveuglément,
Vous prenez sur mon âme un trop puissant empire :
Durant quelques moments souffrez que je respire,

J'aime encor plus Cinna que je ne hais Auguste,
Et je sens refroidir ce bouillant mouvement
Quand il faut, pour le suivre, exposer mon amant.
Cessez, vaines frayeurs, cessez lâches tendresses,
De jeter dans mon cœur vos indignes foiblesses.

Cinna, I, 1 ; 1-6, 18-20, 45-6.

PORCIE.

Je succombe, il est vrai, dans un si haut dessein :
L'ay devant que Cæsar un poignard dans le sein :
Desirs impatiens, cruelle incertitude,
Espoir, crainte, douleur, tristesse, inquietude,
Tyraus de mon esprit, regnez vous long temps ?
Accordez moy la mort ou le bien que j'attends :

Ha Brute ! un prompt retour nous est bien nécessaire.
Vous me faictes mourir, avec nostre adversaire ;
Eh bien que le discours face un puissant effort.
J'aimerois mieux souffrir Cæsar, que vostre mort.
Sortez de mon esprit foiblesse infortunée.

Mort de Cæsar, IV, 4.

That Porcie means by her « haut dessein » vengeance for her father's death may be seen more clearly in the following passage :

PORCIE [à Brute].

N'attendez pas de moy des marques de foiblesse,
Je hay trop le Tyran, s'il vous choque, il me blesse :
L'image de Caton qui me suit en tous lieux,
Sembloit offrir son poignard, et son sang à mes yeux :
Mais Brute, ma douleur n'est pas sans allégeance ;
Un extreme plaisir se trouve en la vengeance.

M. de C., I, 2.

In the next scene (I, 2) Corneille draws on Brute of Scudéry's play in characterizing Emilie as animated by a desire to liberate Rome :

ÉMILIE.

Joignons à la douceur de venger nos
parents,
La gloire qu'on remporte à punir les
tyrans,
Et faisons publier par toute l'Italie :
« La liberté de Rome est l'œuvre
d'Émilie. »

Cinna, I, 2 ; 107-10.

BRUTE.

Monstrons le mesme cœur qu'ont
monstré nos parens,
Et que le Nom de Brute est fatal aux
Tirans.

M. de C., I, 1.

Cinna now appears (I, 3) and reports to Emilie the proceedings of the conspirators' conference. The scene is based on Scudéry and Appian. Emilie inquires, as does Brute, about the attitude of the conspirators :

ÉMILIE.

Et reconnoissez-vous au front de vos
amis
Qu'ils soient prêts à tenir ce qu'ils
vous ont promis ?

CINNA.

Jamais contre un tyran entreprise
conçue
Ne permit d'espérer une si belle issue ;
Jamais de telle ardeur on n'en jura la
mort,
Et jamais conjurés ne furent mieux
d'accord ;
Tous s'y montrent portés avec tant
d'allégresse...

Cinna, I, 3 ; 143-9.

BRUTE.

As-tu bien observé les traits de leur
visage ;
N'y remarques-tu rien de sinistre
presage...

CASSIE.

Jamais Lire d'Orphée, en douceur
infinie,
Ne fut si bien d'accord, et n'eut tant
d'harmonie ;
Tous ont le mesme but, et le mesme
courage.

M. de C., II, 3.

Cinna now gives to Emilie an account of his conference with the conspirators, in which he made a long speech, parts of which he repeats to her verbatim. This speech bears certain resemblances to one delivered by Brute (*M. de C.*) before five conspirators assembled on the stage :

CINNA.

« Amis, leur ai-je dit, voici le jour
heureux
Qui doit conclure enfin nos desseins
généreux :
Le ciel entre nos mains a mis le sort
de Rome,
Et son salut dépend de la perte d'un
homme. »

Cinna I, 3 ; 163-6.

BRUTE.

Ouy, c'est en ce grand iour, si digne
de memoire,
Qu'il nous faut couronner par les
mains de la gloire ;
Nous sauvons en ce iour, par la perte
d'un homme,
Non pas nous seulement, mais l'Em-
pire de Rome.

M. de C., III, 2.

The attitude of Cinna toward Auguste is similar to that of Brute toward César :

CINNA.

BRUTE.

Si l'on doit le nom d'homme à qui n'a
rien d'humain,
A ce tigre altéré de tout le sang
romain...

Quels crimes n'ont commis ces Tigres
inhumains ?
N'ont-ils pas oublié qu'ils estoient nais
Romains ?

Cinna., I, 3 ; 167-8.

M. de C., I, 1.

Cinna then speaks of the civil wars, in which the people fought to gain in the end only new tyrants. His words recall those of Brute in describing the rivalry between César and Pompée.

CINNA.

BRUTE.

Romains contre Romains, parents
contre parents,
Combattoient seulement pour le choix
des tyrans.

D'egal il se fait Maistre : et Rome en
fin trompée,
Voit bien que c'est pour luy qu'elle a
vaincu Pompée,

Cinna., I, 3 ; 187-8.

.
De sorte qu'en leur gain nous ne
pouvions gagner,
Puis qu'il avoient tous deux le dessein
de regner.

M. de C., I, 1.

He next describes the proscriptions, in which Auguste figured and Toranius, father of Emilie, lost his life. Corneille follows Appian (« Civil Wars, » bk. IV, ch. iv and v.), who gives details of foul murders and mentions by name many persons who met death, among whom are Cicero, Salvius, and Minucius. Cinna mentions no one by name, but seems to have done so before the conspirators :

Vous dirai-je les noms de ces grands personnages,
Dont j'ai dépeint les morts pour aigrir les courages ?

Cinna., I, 3 ; 205-6.

Some of the « tragiques histoires » (I, 3 ; 194) may be identified :

CINNA.

Les uns assassinés dans les places
publiques,
Les autres dans le sein de leurs dieux
domestiques.

Cinna, I, 3 ; 197-8

The second one slain was the praetor Minucius, who was holding the comitia in the forum (9).

[Salvius] gave a banquet to his friends... Soldiers burst in while the feast was going on,... Then, seizing Salvius by the hair, just as he was, the centurion... cut off his head (10).

Appian tells us that the sons of Thuranius (Toranius of the play) and Annalis betrayed their fathers and inherited their fortunes (11), and that Laena cut off the head of Cicero and presented it to Antony, receiving a large reward. Corneille combines the incidents, saying that sons killed their fathers :

CINNA.

Le méchant par le prix au crime
encouragé ;
Le fils tout dégouttant du meurtre de
son père,
Et sa tête à la main demandant son
salaire,....

Cinna, I, 3 ; 199, 201-2.

[Laena] cut it [the head of Cicero] off,... [and] a long distance off shewed him [Antony] the head. [Antony] gave him [Laena] 250,000 Attic drachmas in addition to the stipulated reward (12).

Betrayal of husbands by wives is mentioned by Appian :

CINNA.

Le mari par sa femme en son lit
égorgé.

Cinna, I, 3 ; 200.

Other women betrayed their husbands infamously. Among these was the wife of Septimius, who had an amour with a certain friend of Antony. Septimius.... fled to his wife's house. She, as though with loving anxiety, closed the doors, and kept him until the murderers came (13).

An examination of the accounts of the proscriptions in Dio's *Roman History*, XLVII, 1-19 (14), and Suetonius, *The Deified*

(9) Appian's *Roman History*, IV, p. 169.

(10) *Ibid.*, pp. 167 and 169.

(11) *Ibid.*, pp. 169 and 171.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 173.

(13) *Ibid.*, p. 179.

(14) Tr. by E. Cary, London and New York, 1917, 9 v., vol. V., pp. 117-157.

Augustus, ch. XXVII (15), convinces one that Corneille did not have them in mind in describing the proscriptions. In Dio's account only two names are given of those who died, Cicero and Lucius Philuscius, and there are no details of the manner in which persons died, with the exception of the case of a youth who was enrolled among the soldiers that he might be killed. In Suetonius only part of a chapter is devoted to the proscriptions, and no details are given of the manner of the death of the victims. Only the name of Toranius is mentioned (16).

Cinna says that when he finished his speech the conspirators renewed their oaths; this is what happened after the speech of Brute in *La Mort de César*, III, 2, each conspirator speaking in turn.

A peine ai-je achevé, que chacun renouvelle,
Par un noble serment, le vœu d'être fidèle.

Cinna, I, 3; 241-2.

The opening scene of act II was probably suggested by a similar one of act III of *La Mort de César*. The setting is the same:

La Châbre de César s'ouvre.

M. de C., III, 1.

Le Cabinet d'Auguste.

Examen de Cinna, M.-L., III, 379.

Both emperors ask counsel from those whom they consider their best friends and wish to be given frank advice:

AUGUSTE.

CÉSAR.

Traitez-moi comme ami, non comme
souverain.

Entre les vrais Amis on ne doit rien
cacher....

Cinna, II, 1; 399.

Parlez donc hardiment, vous le
pouvez sans crime.

M. de C., III, 1.

In Scudéry Antoine and Lépidé give advice as real friends, advising César to beware of his enemies and to pursue a more

(15) *The Lives of the Caesars*, tr. by J. C. Rolfe, London and New York, 1920, 2 v., vol. I, pp. 161 and 163.

(16) Dr. Liffert, *op. cit.*, ch. on *Cinna*, thinks that Dio is the source of I, 3, and fails to examine Appian.

rigorous policy toward them. Now Corneille in his reading found a similar council scene in Dio's *Roman History*, LII, 1-41 (17), in which two true friends of Augustus gave him counsel on the relative merits of monarchical and republican forms of government. He used the subject matter, thinking, perhaps, that a political discussion would please the audience, in view of the fact that such scenes had been staged more or less recently by Hardy and Guérin de Bouscal (18). He then substituted the two conspirators, Cinna and Maxime, for the two friends of Augustus, Maecenas and Agrippa :

Vous, qui me tenez lieu d'Agrippe et de Mécène.

(II, 1, 394).

The suggestion for this change is found in Scudéry's play where Brute, whom César regards as a son, misuses the confidence placed in him to work the destruction of the emperor. Cinna, then, assumes the rôle of Brute and there is some significance in his denial of his prototype :

Il est des assassins, mais il n'est plus de Brute.

(II, 1, 438)

Like Brute he gives insidious counsel, advising Auguste to retain the throne, hoping thereby to lead him on to his destruction. The former holds the crown before César to lure him to the senate, where the conspirators await him :

BRUTE [à César]

Ainsi tant de desirs ont pénétré les Cieux :
Et le Senat en fin inspiré par les Dieux,
Suivant des immortels la sagesse profonde,
Va faire en ce beau jour le plus grand Roy du monde.

Mort de César, IV, 5.

The gratitude of the emperors toward their false friends is expressed in similar terms, both promising rewards :

(17) *Op. cit.*, vol. VI, pp. 78-185.

(18) See note 1 of this chapter. In addition to the common source of inspiration of Guérin de Bouscal's *Suite de la Mort de César* and Corneille's *Cinna*, namely *La Mort de César* of Scudéry, there is at least one resemblance — discussion of the merits of a republican and a strong central government — between the two plays.

AUGUSTE.

CÉSAR.

Cinna, par vos conseils je retiendrai
l'empire,
Mais je le retiendrai pour vous en
faire part.

Cinna, II, 1 ; 626-7.

Ha Brute ! si i'arrive à cette heure
opportune,
Que vous aurez de part à ma bonne
fortune.

M. de C., IV, 5.

Furthermore, Auguste offers to give Emilie, his adopted daughter, in marriage to Cinna, thus establishing an intimate relationship between the two men such as existed between César and Brute :

AUGUSTE.

CÉSAR [à Brute].

Pour épouse, Cinna, je vous donne
Émilie :
Vous savez qu'elle tient la place de
Julie.

Cinna, II, 1 ; 637-8.

Et toi mon fils aussi ?

M. de C., IV, 8.

After using Scudéry's Brute in the characterization of Cinna, Corneille borrows, perhaps, from Scudéry's opinion of the Roman champion of liberty, expressed in the preface to his play, the condemnation of Cinna by Maxime for playing his friend false :

Un chef de conjurés flatte la tyrannie !
Cinna, II, 2 ; 649.

Il [Brute] ne devoit point devenir le
flatteur de CÉSAR, pour s'en rendre
après l'assassin (19).

Maxime's surprise that Cinna is not actuated solely by love of liberty is based on suggestions from Scudéry, since Seneca does not give the motives for the conspiracy against Augustus.

Maxime's love for Emilie is a Cornelian invention, a repetition of the introduction of the rejected lover into the previous three tragedies. Euphorbe counsels betrayal of Cinna to Auguste (III, 1) following a suggestion from Seneca : *unus ex consociis deferbat* (20). After the condemnation of Cinna by Maxime, the former experiences remorse for his ingratitude toward his

(19) Scudéry, *Au Lecteur de La Mort de César*, seconde édition, Paris, Courbé, 1637.

(20) *De Clementia*, I, 9.

benefactor, a motif not found in Seneca. The consequent hesitations of the chief of the conspirators give rise to the situations in scenes 3, 4, and 5 of act III. Here Emilie meets obstacles to her plans for vengeance and displays an indomitable will, similar to that of Chimène and Médée.

Euphorbe, with apparently the consent of his master Maxime, discovers to Auguste the plans of the conspirators, IV, 1, playing the rôle of Artémidor in *La Mort de César*, IV, 6. The monologue of Auguste (IV, 2), in which he expresses his remorse for past crimes which have caused him the loss of friends and raised up so many enemies, and his hesitation as to the proper course in the present emergency, is based on Seneca. Livie appears (IV, 3) and advises clemency as in the Latin source. The thought of a great man's becoming master of himself by overcoming his passions was not a new idea on the stage, for it is found in two of the plays by Desmaretz. Livie says,

C'est régner sur vous-même, et par un noble choix,
Pratiquer la vertu la plus digne des rois.

Cin., IV, 3 ; 1243-4.

In the *Scipion* (acted 1638, pr. 1639) of Desmaretz, Scipion is told by a princess that

A se vaincre soi-mesme est le plus grand honneur

(V. 3),

advice which he subsequently follows in handing over to a rival the woman with whom he is himself in love. In the *Roxane* (pr. 1640) of the same writer, the ideal of Alexandre is « pardonner et donner », and the following verses are found :

A tes nobles lauriers, pour ta gloire suprême,
Adjouste celui là de te vaincre toy mesme (21).

The desire of Maxime to carry off Emilie (IV, 5) and his subsequent chagrin (IV, 6) are motifs of the rôle of *Ægée* (Médée).

The conference between Auguste and Cinna (V, 1) is from

(21) IV, 6. I am indebted to Professor Lancaster for the references to Desmaretz.

Seneca. The motif of surprise and disappointment at betrayal by a friend (V, 2 and 3) has its ultimate source in the dying speech of Caesar, which Corneille found both in the historians and in Scudéry :

AUGUSTE.

CÉSAR.

Et toi, ma fille, aussi !

Et toy mon fils aussi ?

Cinna, V, 2 ; 1561.

M. de C., IV, 8.

That the clemency of Auguste made of Cinna a life-long friend is attested by Seneca. Corneille applies this motif to Emilie and Maxime as well, and the conspirators are won over by the magnanimity of Auguste.

The motives which prompted Auguste to show clemency have been called in question. Uncertainty exists among critics as to whether the action was prompted by consideration of the best policy or through unselfish generosity and nobleness of character. M. Lanson sees in Auguste an « évolution de caractère » during the play (22), a point which can best be tested, although he does not bring up the evidence, by a study of the *De Clementia* as a whole. There Seneca presents two anti-thetic portraits of Augustus, one quick to anger, unforgiving, the other mild and clement. In the play the conspirators give the first in their characterization of the emperor, but Auguste, as shown in the play, is drawn from the second. The moment chosen for the play is when Augustus finally frees himself from his youthful tendencies, prompted, to a large extent, by fear of a friendless old age. Clemency for virtue's sake is possible, as Seneca remarks, only in the case of a man whose record, like that of the young Nero, to whom the treatise is addressed, has been unsullied by evil deeds. The several kinds of motives which may prompt to clemency are fully described by Seneca and those of Augustus are considered sincere and praiseworthy. The testimony of Suetonius bears out Seneca in lauding the latter part of the life of Augustus. The general tone is summed up in the following sentence:

Clementiae civilitatisque eius multa et magna documenta sunt.

Divus Augustus, LI.

(22) *Hommes et Livres*, Paris, Lecène, Oudin, 1895, p. 125.

It is, therefore, Seneca and Suetonius whom Corneille had in mind when he wrote :

Ce monarque étoit tout généreux, et sa générosité n'a jamais paru avec tant d'éclat que dans les effets de sa clémence... *Épître dédicatoire of Cinna*, M.-L., III, 369-70.

The evolution which M. Lanson sees in the character of Auguste is attributed by him, however, to a falsification of history, for he asks, « qu'a-t-il de commun avec l'astucieux vieillard de Tacite, qui jusqu'à la fin ne se fera aucun scrupule de verser le sang et ne saura pas refuser un meurtre à sa femme? » (23) He cites Auguste as an example of Corneille's « altération des caractères » « plus grave, et de plus de conséquence » (24). In Corneille and the historians of his time however, one does not find careful discrimination of evidence, but rather a more or less subjective choice. Hence, in disregarding Tacitus in favor of Seneca and Suetonius, Corneille was acting according to the best practice of his time and was fully within the rights of the poet. Lemaitre's personal opinion of Auguste is that he is actuated in his clemency by ulterior motives, and he is inclined to agree with Napoleon :

Quant à Auguste, il n'a de sympathique que sa mélancolie impériale, sa satiété de maître du monde. Napoléon, bon juge en ces matières, ne croyait pas à la clémence d'Auguste ; et il allait jusqu'à dire que Corneille n'y croyait pas non plus (25).

Petit de Julleville differs from Lemaitre and thinks that Auguste « pardonne par générosité » (26). Of the opinion of Napoleon he says, that it is « infiniment curieuse, et sert assez bien à expliquer, sinon Corneille, au moins Napoléon » (27). In support of the view that Auguste acts through *générosité*, Petit de Julleville cites the passage just quoted from Corneille (28). It is true that the words of Corneille are very explicit, but taken in the connection in which they were

(23) *Corneille*, Paris, 1922, p. 82.

(24) *Ibid.*

(25) Article on « Corneille » in *Histoire de la lang. et de la litt. française*, ed. by Petit de Julleville, IV, 295.

(26) *Théâtre choisi de Corneille*, 9^e éd., Paris, 1913, p. 373.

(27) *Ibid.*, p. 372.

(28) See above, « Ce monarque étoit tout généreux, etc., » M.-L., III, 369-70.

written, they cannot be considered final. It must be remembered that Corneille was drawing a parallel between the liberality of his benefactor, Montoron, and that of Auguste and that he would, therefore, attribute the highest motives to both. In summary : the best evidence for the *générosité* of Auguste is to be found in Seneca and Suetonius, one cannot agree with M. Lanson that in rejecting Tacitus Corneille was guilty of altering history, the subjective opinions of Lemaitre and Napoleon can be disregarded for lack of proof, and Petit de Julleville's conclusions, though correct, were based on insufficient evidence.

In conclusion, the influence of the contemporary stage is responsible for the genesis of *Cinna* : Scudéry's *Mort de César* suggested the subject and served as model for the dramatization of a similar conspiracy. Through his reading, Corneille was able to find in the historians situations similar to those of Scudéry's play, such as the council scene, and he came across a certain daughter of Toranius, whom he substituted for Porcie of the play. In her characterization he used not only Porcie, but also Brute and his own Chimène, with results not inconsistent with the little known of her and her family. The discovery of this daughter of Toranius throws light on Corneille's practice in preferring an historical background wherever it was possible to find it. As will appear more clearly in succeeding chapters, he prefers a character or an incident of the period he is treating to one of his own invention, when his main source lacks in some necessary detail. *Cinna* has characteristics of *Brute*, and Auguste is based on Seneca and Suetonius to the neglect of Tacitus. The motive for the conspiracy against Auguste, not found in Seneca, is supplied by Scudéry : love of liberty and desire for vengeance. Corneille's chief contribution consists in his superior handling and portrayal of psychological situations. His invention of the hesitations of *Cinna* is explained by his desire to place an obstacle before the indomitable will of the heroine, as he had previously done with success in *Médée* and *Le Cid*, and, hence, there is no evidence for thinking that he had in mind Chalais and Mme de Chevreuse.

CHAPTER V

POLYEUCTE

Polyeucte was first printed in 1643 and probably first represented during the winter of 1641-2 (1). It forms one of a group of plays which appeared on the stage about this time, when there seems to have been a revival of interest in this type of drama. The mediæval religious play lost its popularity during the Renaissance, and although pieces dealing with Biblical themes and lives of the saints continued to be written, yet there is little evidence that they were of any great importance before this revival. Beginning about 1639 there appeared within a few years, Baro's *Saint Eustache*, Du Ryer's *Saül*, Corneille's *Polyeucte*, Rotrou's *Saint Genest*, Puget de la Serre's *Thomas Morus* and *Sainte Catherine*, three plays by Desfontaines, *Saint Eustache*, *Saint Alexis*, and *Saint Genest*, and La Calprenède's *Hermenigilde* (2). As Professor Lancaster points out, the dates of the first appearance of these plays remain unsettled, and hence their relationship cannot be determined (3). Du Ryer's *Saül*, however, antedates *Polyeucte* and « may... have suggested to Corneille... that dramatic plots could be found in the lives of the saints » (4). The choice of the life of Polyeuctus for dramatic representation is probably due to

(1) E. Rigal. « La Date de *Polyeucte*, » *Rev. univ.*, XXVIII (1911), t. 2, pp. 29-36.

(2) This list of plays is taken from Professor H. Carrington Lancaster's « La Calprenède Dramatist », *Mod. Philol.*, XVIII (1920), p. 63.

(3) *Ibid.*.

(4) H. Carrington Lancaster, *Pierre Du Ryer Dramatist*, Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1912, p. 97.

Corneille's knowledge of an Italian play, *Polietto*, by Girolamo Bartolommei (5). M. Hauvette, who first pointed out this connection, says that there is little evidence of borrowing by Corneille, beyond the suggestion of the subject, the common source in Surius, the raising of Félix to a position of greater dignity in the play than in the source, and the occasion for the sacrifice to the gods. These points, however, are striking, and when added to the fact that the subject of Corneille's other religious play, *Théodore*, was treated before by Bartolommei (6), they constitute the best suggestion thus far offered for the genesis of *Polyeucte*. Professor Henning says that « Berthelot's Latin tragedy of *Procopius Martyr* (1635) has some analogies with *Polyeucte* » (7), but does not point them out. Corneille in his *Examen* (1680) cites several Latin plays on religious subjects by Heinsius, Grotius, and Buchanan and adds, « C'est sur ces exemples que j'ai hasardé ce poème » (8). It is difficult to believe, however, that these plays, not destined for the popular stage, could have had any influence in determining Corneille's choice of a religious subject.

It seems probable, therefore, that, during the revival of interest in religious plays beginning about 1639, Corneille got the suggestion for *Polyeucte* from Bartolommei's *Polietto*, the source of which was in Surius (9). With the life of the saint before him he distributed the material over the five acts of the play, working largely from the Latin text, whereas, in the preceding tragedies, he had depended largely on plays as models. Nevertheless, he felt the need of the vivifying influence

(5) H. Hauvette, « Un précurseur italien de Corneille, Girolamo Bartolommei », *Ann. de l'Univ. de Grenoble*, IX (1897), 557-577.

(6) In 1632 there appeared at Rome, according to Hauvette, *op. cit.*, a volume containing seven of Bartolommei's tragedies, of which five were on sacred subjects: *Eugenia*, *Isabella*, *Teodora*, *Giorgio*, and *Polietto*. Hauvette calls attention to the fact that Bartolommei sought the favor of French royalty and thinks that Corneille may have heard him spoken of in literary circles.

(7) Corneille, *Polyeucte, Martyr*, ed. by G. N. Henning, Boston, Ginn, 1907. Professor Henning fails to mention the article of M. Hauvette.

(8) M.-L., III, 480.

(9) *Vitæ sanctorum ab Aloysio Lipomanno olim conscriptæ*, 1570, 6 v. (M.-L., III, 474). Corneille tells us that he used a later edition augmented by Mosander (M.-L., III, 475).

of the stage, as is attested by his use of Scudéry's *Mort de César* in the opening scenes of the play, repeating what he had previously used in *Cinna* (10). Furthermore, in the dénouement he made use of his own *Horace*, and in characterizing the rejected lover, a rôle invented here as in the preceding tragedies, he drew on Mairet's *Sophonisbe*. For Scriptural quotations he went to the Vulgate, supplementing those of the source.

Four of the principal characters, Félix, Polyeucte, Pauline, and Néarque are found in Surins. In the preceding tragedies a lover is rejected because he fails to find favor in the eyes of the heroine, whereas in *Polyeucte* the reason is wholly political as in Mairet's *Sophonisbe*, the father prevailing on his daughter to give up her lover in order to further paternal interests. On being rejected, both Massinisse and Sévère seek their fortunes in war and return glorified and powerful to claim the object of their affections now married, the former to be rewarded and the latter doomed to disappointment. The name and certain characteristics of Sévère may have been found in a life of Alexandre Sévère, the philosopher, who admired Christianity without embracing it (11). Ample material for differentiating the characters on the ground of their attitude toward Christianity is found either in the life of Polyeuctus or in other lives of the saints. Stratonice was added to represent persons who believed that the Christians practise the black arts.

Corneille's earlier training in the Jesuit college of Rouen made him familiar with church history, including the period of the persecutions. Historians and literary critics agree in his faithfulness to historic fact in *Polyeucte*. P. Allard says that

Corneille avait eu comme la vision intérieure de cette époque ; son génie droit et sûr la lui avait montrée telle que nous la révèlent les plus exactes découvertes de l'érudition et de la critique,.... Corneille n'est pas seulement un grand écrivain, son instinct supérieur a fait de lui un grand historien (12).

(10) *Cinna*, *Polyeucte*, and perhaps *Pompée* open with scenes inspired by Scudéry's play.

(11) Commentators have noted this resemblance, without showing Corneille's source. I have found a life of Alexandre Sévère by Allègre, who lived in the sixteenth century, in a supplement to Amyot's *Plutarque*, Paris, Cussac, 1787 (a copy of which is in the library of Harvard University).

(12) *Histoire des persécutions*, Paris, Lecoffre, 1886, Appendix D, « Polyeucte la poésie et dans l'histoire, » p. 497.

He cites Gregory of Tours, Eusebius, Saint Justin, and others in support of his opinion. Hémon, without denying to Corneille this « instinct d'histoire », says he could have gone to Suetonius, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, the church fathers, and others for the conflict between Christianity and the Roman Empire, and cites many parallels to show Corneille's fidelity to history without asserting, however, that Corneille used these writers (13). Both Allard and Hémon, however, seem to go far afield in collecting data to compare with Corneille's play. Surius, which is an inexhaustible source, seems to have been neglected by modern commentators, although Corneille had it before him (14).

That so many parallels may be found in the lives and writings of the saints is due to the great uniformity of their ideals, actions, and words. Martyrs were actuated by a desire to win the crown of glory, considering things of this world of little importance in comparison with things to come. They worshipped the God who made heaven and earth and despised the gods of wood and stone. Their conversation was simple, abounding in quotations from the Scripture. Hence, it is difficult to determine whether Corneille read many authors or few. It is certain, however, that the collection of saints' lives made by Surius and his collaborator Mosander furnished material for the picture which Corneille has given us of the Christian martyrs. It contains many paraphrases of the lives of the saints by Metaphrastes, abounding in details, the product for the most part, apparently, of the imagination of the tenth-century compiler. The life of Polyeuctus is by him as well as that of Saint

(13) Corneille, *Polyeucte*, ed by F. Hémon, Paris, Delagrave, n. d. « Introduction, » pp. 3 ff.

(14) I have gone through the January and February volumes of Surius to familiarize myself with part of the material which Corneille probably read. Corneille tells us that Surius gives the life of Polyeuctus under date of January 9th and that the *Martyrologe romain* mentions him under February 13th. In the edition of Surius (1875-80) in the Library of Congress the account of Polyeuctus is found in the February volume. The *Annales ecclesiastici* of Baronius, which Corneille mentions in discussing the date of Polyeuctus's martyrdom (see M.-L., III, 475), was used later as historical source of *Héraclius* and may have been used in this play, although I have not gone into this question, since Baronius is at present not accessible.

Theodora used later in *Théodore* (1645). In Surius one finds the type of persons depicted in *Polyeucte*: the office-holder fearful of the wrath of the emperor, bringing Christians to trial and desiring to excuse them, but not daring to do so for fear he may lose his life or his position (Felix in the life of Polyeuctus, and Sempronius, the prefect in the life of Saint Agnes); the wife who is converted after the death of her husband (Afra, wife of Italicus, in the life of Saint Faustinus and elsewhere); the Christian whose faith is weakened by his sins (*c/*. Néarque of the play); and the pagan Sempronius, who, like Stratonice of the play, believes that the sect of the Christians practises the black arts. Men of all classes are found, who, like Sévère, are led to admire the virtues of the Christians; and conversions are numerous among those who witness the stoical fortitude and the joy of the Christian as he goes to his death (15). The Christian frequently quotes Scripture, and the citations of the immediate source Corneille supplemented from the Vulgate. The intercession of the saints was of course a church doctrine and is seen in the account of the martyrdom of Saint Dorothy. The lawyer Theophilus scoffingly asks Dorothy to send him apples or roses from Paradise,

Dicit ad eam irridicule quidam advocatus, nomine Theophilus : « Eja tu sponsa Christi, mitte mihi de paradiso Sponsi tui mala aut rosas. »

and after the death of the saint a boy appears to Theophilus bringing him « tria mala optima, et tres rosas ». The lawyer is immediately converted and, like Saint Paul, turns from the prosecution of the Christians to the preaching of Jesus Christ (16). Polyeucte in the play promises to intercede before God in behalf of Félix :

(15) The edition of Surius which I used bears on the title-page of the volume for January the following : Surius, *Historiæ seu vitæ sanctorum juxta optimam Coloniensem editionem nunc vero ex recentioribus et probatissimis monumentis -umero auctæ mendis expurgatæ et notis exornatæ...* Augustæ Taurinorum ex Typographia Pontificia et Archiepiscopali E. Petri Marietti, MDCCCLXXV. The title of the life of Polyeuctus in the second volume, under date of February 12th, is : *Certamen S. Martyris Polyeucti* autore Simone Metaphraste coronatur probabiliter est anno 259.

(16) *Martyrium S. Dorotheæ Virginis*, in Surius, *Hist..... Sanct. II* (Feb. 6).

Et c'est là que bientôt, voyant Dieu face à face.
 Plus aisément pour vous j'obtiendrai cette grâce.
 (V, 2 ; 1555-6).

It is to this intercession that Félix attributes his conversion :

C'est lui, n'en doutez point, dont le sang innocent
 Pour son persécuteur prie un Dieu tout-puissant.
 (V, 5 ; 1773-4).

In the immediate source, the *Certamen S. Martyris Polyucti*, there are many references to Scripture. Although the question of divine grace is not discussed, yet one can see the attitude of the prototypes of Néarque and Polyeucte, which is, « Believe and thou shalt be saved. »

Nam omnibus, ut semel dicam, aperta est porta coeli.
 Cert. Poly., 6.
 Is quoque qui credit, magnam recipiet mercedem parvae illius fidei.
 Ibid.

The parable of the workers in the vineyard is told, followed by the account of the salvation of the thief on the cross. The power of God to save the sinner is brought out by

Scriptum est enim, posse Deum vel ex his lapidibus suscitare filios Abrahæ.
 Ibid.

The citations are addressed by Nearchus the Christian to Polyeuctus, who seeks salvation but fears lest he might not be found worthy. Corneille introduces the subject of the grace of God, which Polyeucte at the beginning of the play has already received, and which Félix is to receive toward the end, as a gift through the intercession of Polyeucte,

Elle est un don du ciel, et non de la raison.
 (V, 2 ; 1554) ;

and made only to the elect,

Ce n'est qu'à ses élus que Dieu les fait entendre
 (V, 2 ; 1540).

After the death of Polyeucte, Pauline says that she has seen the light and believes :

Je vois, je sais, je crois, je suis désabusée.
 (V, 5 ; 1727),

and that she has received grace,

C'est la grâce qui parle.

(V, 5; 1742).

Grace once received must be cherished, according to Néarque; or it may be lost through hesitating to do the will of God (I, 4: 25-40) or through sinning,

Mais cette même grâce, en moi diminuée,

Et par mille péchés sans cesse exténuée.....

(II, 6; 697-8).

Therefore, as a gift of God to his elect as expressed by Polyeucte, we have the Jansenist doctrine of grace; but with the modification of faith as the first step, as in the case of Pauline, individual responsibility is added, and we have an approach toward Molinism. Sainte-Beuve sees in *Polyeucte* evidence of the interest in the doctrine of grace raised by the Port Royalists:

La doctrine de la Grâce que relevait Port-Royal allait se divulguant; il devient évident par *Polyeucte* qu'elle circulait jusqu'à Corneille (17).

But Rigal thinks that « *Polyeucte* est plutôt d'inspiration moliniste que d'inspiration janséniste (18). » However, since we see in the play both points of view, it is not likely that Corneille was holding a brief for either. Impressed with the great number of conversions, both in the main source and in other lives of the saints, he decided to show the power of Christianity even upon a man as egoistic as Félix. To give him a change of heart at the last moment would have been incredible, to save him through the grace of God, possible and in accord with the many conversions of which one reads in the lives of the saints. It is not at all proved, therefore, that Corneille was influenced by the disputes that arose after the publication of Jansen's *Augustinus* (1641), and Rigal thinks that it is improbable (19); it is clear, however, that Corneille used the Bible, from which the Jansenists and the Molinists derive their divergent views and which is probably the ultimate source of the doctrine of grace expressed in the play.

(17) *Port-Royal*, Paris, Hachette, 1860, I, 129.

(18) E. Rigal, « La Date de *Polyeucte*, » *Rev. univ.*, XXVIII (1911), t. 2, p. 30.

(19) *Ibid.*

In shaping the play into acts and scenes Corneille worked largely from the life of Polyeuctus in Surius (20), an *abrégé* of which is found in the earlier editions of the play. He added certain dramatic motifs, some of which he pointed out himself (21). The thought occurred to him to use a dream prophetic of the death of Polyeucte, a repetition of his practice in *Horace*. Although it is true that there is a dream in Surius foretelling the conversion of Polyeuctus, yet the suggestion for the dream of Pauline came rather from the play from which Corneille worked in *Cinna*, Scudéry's *Mort de César*. This motif gave Corneille a means of beginning his play (22). Compare the situation in scenes 1 and 2 with *La Mort de César*, IV, 4 :

Polyeucte.

Polyeucte appears on the stage after his wife has told him of a disturbing dream, on account of which he hesitates to leave the house on that day. His friend Néarque wonders that he should pay attention to the dreams of a woman. Pauline appears (I, 2) and tries to dissuade him from leaving, but he insists and says he will return in an hour.

La Mort de César.

Calpurnie tries to dissuade César from leaving the house on the Ides of March, since she has had a disturbing dream. Brute interposes, wondering that he should pay attention to the dreams of a woman. César tries to calm the fears of his wife, saying that he will be absent for only an hour.

There are a number of verbal resemblances :

NÉARQUE.

Quoi ? vous vous arrêtez aux songes
d'une femme !
De si foibles sujets troublent cette
grande âme !

Poly., I, 1 ; 1-2.

BRUTE.

Dieux, un si fort esprit se laisse donc
tenter !
Quoy pourrez vous souffrir qu'on dise
avecques blasme,
Que Cæsar croit, et craint, les songes
d'une femme !

M. de C., IV, 3.

(20) « Certamen S. Martyris Polyeucti, » by Symeon Metaphrastes.

(21) « Le songe de Pauline, l'amour de Sévère, le baptême effectif de Polyeucte, le sacrifice pour la victoire de l'Empereur, la dignité de Félix,.... la conversion de Félix et de Pauline, » *Abrégé*, M.-L., III, 478. He adds that he found the victory of the emperor over the Persians in Coëffeteau's *Histoire romaine*.

(22) *Cinna*, *Polyeucte*, and perhaps *Pompée* open with scenes inspired by *La Mort de César*. The dream of Calpurnia and her subsequent desire to prevent her husband from leaving the house on the fatal day is related by Suetonius and other historians, but certain verbal resemblances and the fact that Corneille had used Scudéry in *Cinna* lead one to think that Corneille had the play in mind.

PAULINE [à Polyeucte].

Quel sujet si pressant à sortir vous
convie ?

Y va-t-il de l'honneur ? y va-t-il de la
vie ?

Poly., I, 2 ; 109-10.

PAULINE [à Polyeucte].

Donnez à mes soupirs cette seule
journée.

Poly., I, 2 ; 118.

POLYEUCTE [à Pauline].

Ne craignez rien de mal pour une
heure d'absence.

Poly., I, 2 ; 121.

CALPURNIE [à César].

Y va-t-il du salut de tout le genre
humain,

Que vous n'en puissiez pas différer
l'assemblée ?

M. de C., IV, 3.

CALPURNIE [à César].

Hé de grace donnez quelque chose à
mes larmes :

Remettez aujourdhuy le Senat à
demain.

M. de C., IV, 3.

CÉSAR [à Calpurnie].

Une si courte absence,

Ne viendra pas about de votre
patience ;

Une heure de conseil suffira pour ce
iour.

M. de C., IV, 3.

The delay requested by Pauline suggested passages in the Scripture bidding the Christian act « while it is called to-day ». Perhaps Corneille had in mind the epistle of Saint Paul to the Hebrews in writing the verses on divine grace (I, 1 ; 25-26).

NÉARQUE [à Polyeucte].

Et Dieu, qui tient votre âme et vos
jours dans sa main,
Promet-il à vos vœux de le pouvoir
demain ?

Il est toujours tout juste et tout bon ;
mais sa grâce

Ne descend pas toujours avec même
efficace ;

Après certains moments que perdent
nos longueurs,

Elle quitte ces traits qui pénètrent
les cœurs ;

Le nôtre s'endurcit, la repousse,
l'égare.

Poly., I, 1 ; 27-33.

Sed adhortamini vosmetipsos per
singulos dies, donec Hodie cognomi-
natur, ut non obduretur quis ex vobis
fallacia peccati.

Ep. ad Heb., III, 13 (23).

Quapropter, sicut dicit Spiritus sanc-
tus : Hodie si vocem ejus audieritis,
Nolite obdurare corda vestra. . .

Ibid., III, 7-8.

Polyeucte's thought of delaying baptism is interpreted as a

(23) *Biblia Sacra, Vulgatæ Editionis*, Sixti V et Clementis VIII, London, Samuel Bagster, n. d.

suggestion of Satan, and as in Metaphrastes he struggles against the wiles of the devil.

NÉARQUE [à Polyeucte].

Ainsi du genre humain l'ennemi vous
abuse :
Ce qu'il ne peut de force, il entreprend
de ruse.

Poly., I, 1; 53-4.

Has ergo plagas, ut dictum est
parum curabat Polyeuctus : lucta-
bantur autem adversus aliam diaboli
maligni artem.

Cert. Poly., 10.

Polyeucte departs with Nésarque, and Stratonice expresses the popular view of the pagans in regard to the sect of the Christians (24) :

Leur secte est insensée, impie et sa-
critège,
Et dans son sacrifice use de sortilège.

Poly., I, 3; 257-8.

« Hei mihi, dicens, te quoque,
o Polyeucte, Christi artes fefellere
magicae ? »

Cert. Poly., 9.

Pauline reveals to Stratonice her love for Sévère, saying that inequality of fortune constituted an obstacle to their marriage (I, 3; 184-5), a situation recalling that of the Infante and Rodrigue (*Le Cid*) and of Clarice (*La Veuve*), of whom her lover says,

Puisqu'inégal de biens et de condition,
Je ne pouvois prétendre à son affection.

La Veuve, I, 1; 59-60.

She tells how she gave up Sévère and married Polyeucte in order to further the political interests of her father, recalling Sophonisbe's sacrifice of her love for Massinisse and her subsequent marriage to Syphax for similar reasons (Mairet's *Sophonisbe*) (25). Pauline now recounts her dream predicting the return of Sévère and the death of her husband (I, 3; 230-245). As we have seen, the use of this dream was suggested by Scudéry's *Mort de César*, a fact unknown to Sainte-Aulaire, Voltaire, and Petit de Julleville, who make various comments as to its justification (26). The main reason for its adoption was

(24) In the sources of *Théodore* accusations of the practice of the black arts are made against the Christians.

(25) It has been shown that Corneille used Mairet's play in *Le Cid* and *Horace*.

(26) See Petit de Julleville, *Théâtre choisi de Corneille*, Paris, Hachette, 9^e éd., 1913, p. 552, n. 1.

probably that it appealed to the dramatist as a means of producing a situation pleasing to the theatre-goers of the time. After reverses in love, Sévère, like Massinisse, seeks his fortune in war and returns (I, 4), in like manner glorified and honored, to claim his bride, not knowing, however, that Pauline had just married Polyeucte (27).

The victory over the Persians is recounted, according to Corneille, by Coëffeteau in his *Histoire romaine* (28). It is very probable, however, that Corneille had in mind not only Massinisse but also the Cid when he introduced this motif, since it serves the same purpose in all three instances of glorifying the personage through exploits in war. Furthermore, Sévère arouses the admiration of the enemy through his courageous deeds, just as did Rodrigo in his victory over the Moors (*Las Mocedades del Cid*), one of whose kings refers to him on the stage as « el mio Cid » (II, 6; 1694). The sacrifice, in honor of the victory of the emperor, which serves as a pretext for Sévère's return is attributed by Hauvette to a suggestion from Bartolommei (29).

On learning that Pauline has been married shortly before his return, Sévère is counselled to bestow his love elsewhere, as were Massinisse (Mairet's *Sophonisbe*), Rodrigue (*Le Cid*) and Camille (*Horace*) (30):

Vous trouverez à Rome assez d'autres maîtresses.

(I, 1; 390).

In his interview with Pauline (II, 2), the latter reveals her « âme noble » and, in striking contrast with Sophonisbe, affirms that she will remain true to her husband. When Polyeucte returns (II, 4) unharmed in spite of the predictions of the gods of Pauline, the latter tells him that the day is not yet over, recalling the words of the soothsayer to Julius Caesar. This incident, which is not used by Scudéry, may come from Suetonius:

(27) In Mairet's play Syphax dies and Sophonisbe marries Massinisse, but in Corneille's play Pauline refuses to marry Sévère after the death of her husband.

(28) *Abrégé*, M.-L., III, 478.

(29) H. Hauvette, *op. cit.*, p. 564.

(30) See note 17 in the foregoing chapter on *Le Cid*.

POLYEUCTE.

Malgré les faux avis par vos Dieux
envoyés,
Je suis vivant, Madame, et vous me
revoyez.

PAULINE.

Le jour est encor long.

Poly., II, 4 ; 595-7.

He [Caesar] entered the House in defiance of portents, laughing at Spurrinna and calling him a false prophet, because the Ides of March were come without bringing him harm ; though Spurrinna replied that they had of a truth come, but they had not gone (31).

In *Polyeucte* and *Néarque* Corneille shows two types of Christians, one filled with a « zèle téméraire », seizing every opportunity to show his faith by his works, casting down the images of the heathen gods, and earnestly desiring to depart from this life and to enter into the life beyond ; the other, although ready to defend his faith, avoiding unnecessary opposition to constituted authority and inclined to save his life for use in the service of God. The first type is that of *Polyeuctus* in *Surius* and of many other Christian martyrs ; the second, that of Saint Paul and of many of the earlier followers of Christ. In the *Acts of the Apostles* Paul is accused of being a « pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world,... Who also hath gone about to profane the temple » (32) : but in his defense before Felix he denies this accusation :

Et neque in templo invenerunt me cum aliquo disputantem, aut concursum facientem turbæ, neque in synagogis, neque in civitate (33).

Paul Allard says that « *Néarque* représente la règle, *Polyeucte*, l'exception. *Polyeucte* commet une généreuse imprudence en s'offrant au martyre, *Néarque* représente l'esprit modéré de l'église de Rome » (34). Corneille had shown a tendency to differentiate the characters of personages alike in many respects, as in the case of *Horace* and *Curiace* (*Horace*), and

(31) Suetonius, tr. by J. C. Rolfe, London and New York, 1914, 2 v. « The Deified Julius, » I, 111.

(32) *Acts of the Apostles* (King James Version), XXIV, 5-6.

(33) *Act. Apost.* (Vulgate), XXIV, 12-13.

(34) *Histoire des persécutions pendant la première moitié du troisième siècle* (Septime, Maximin, Dèce), Paris, Lecoffre, 1886.

there, as in *Polyeucte*, his characterization rests upon historical sources (35). Polyeucte is desirous to enter the temple, to cast down idols, and glories in the opportunity to win the martyr's crown (II, 6; 645-652). In the life of Saint Theodora by Saint Ambrose much is said about the contest among the Christians for the martyr's crown. Didymus and Theodora both want it, neither wishes to yield to the other the opportunity to win it, and when finally both suffer martyrdom the comment is, *Duo contenderunt, et ambo vicerunt; nec divisa est corona, sed adita* (36).

The mental anguish of Pauline, torn between hopes and fears (III, 1), is a psychological situation similar to many which Corneille had previously described, notably in *Le Cid*, IV, 4, and *Horace*, IV, 4. When Polyeucte enters the temple of the heathen gods, he interrupts the sacrifices, and addressing those assembled contrasts the vices of their gods with the virtues of his God. His words are typical of those of the saints who are called upon to sacrifice and do homage to the heathen gods. One may compare the words of Saint Patroclus with the reported speech of Polyeucte :

STRATONICE.

« Quoi ? lui dit Polyeucte en élevant
sa voix,
Adorez-vous des Dieux ou de pierre ou
de bois ? »
Ici dispensez-moi du récit des blas-
phèmes
Qu'ils ont vomis tous deux contre
Jupiter mêmes.
L'adultère et l'inceste en étoient les
plus doux.

Poly., III, 2; 835-9.

Compare :

POLYEUCTE.

Voyez l'avengle erreur que vous osez
défendre :

Beatus Pàtroclus respondit : « Apol-
lo, quem dicis tuum esse deum, audivi-
mus a majoribus nostris quod Admèti
regis pècora paverit, ibique non solum
gregis detrimentum perpessus sit, sed
etiam ipsa tela perdiderit. Et Iovem,
quem adoras, hominem fuisse nequis-
simum, raptorem et adulterum com-
pèrimus, qui cum vicinis suis sedi-
tiosus, semper extitit, ipseque nullius
criminis expers, alios secum vivos
aeque et mortuus ad scelera traxit.
Et cum ipse simul cum diabolo tor-
queatur in inferno, non cessat adhuc
colligere condemnandos. Dianam nam-

(35) The characterization of Néarque as the type of man who disbelieves in the use of violence is amply suggested by Surlus and the *Acts of the Apostles*. Whether Corneille thought of him as representing the « esprit modéré de l'église de Rome » is difficult to determine.

(36) See M.-L., V, 111.

Des crimes les plus noirs vous souillez
tous vos Dieux ;

Vous n'en punissez point qui n'ait son
maître aux cieux :

La prostitution, l'adultère, l'inceste,
Le vol, l'assassinat, et tout ce qu'on
déteste,

C'est l'exemple qu'à suivre offrent vos
immortels.

Poly., V, 3; 1664-9.

The definitions of God which Polyeucte gave in the temple (III, 2; 841-850) and later before Félix (V, 3; 1657-1662) are more elaborate than those of the typical Christian about to suffer martyrdom. In both cases Corneille begins with the typical description of God as found in the saints' lives :

Le Dieu de Polyeucte et celui de
Néarque

De la terre et du ciel est l'absolu
monarque.

Poly., III, 2; 841-2.

Je n'adore qu'un Dieu, maître de
l'univers,

Sous qui tremblent le ciel, la terre, et
les enfers.

Ibid., V, 3; 1657-8.

que, quam dicis esse matrem deorum,
qui nesciat esse daemonium ?

« De S. Patrocle Mart., »
in *Surius*, vol. I.

Nos autem, qui unum Deum, qui
est in coelis, colimus, verum Deum
confiteor.

« Vita S. Juliani, » *Surius*,
vol. I (Jan. 9).

« Quem, inquit Polemo, deum
colis ? » Respondit Pionus :

« Deum illum omnipotentem qui
fecit coelum et terram et omnia quæ
coelo et terrâ continentur, atque
omnes nos; qui nobis abunde suppe-
ditat omnia, quem per Verbum ipsius
Christum cognitum habemus ».

« Vita S. Pioni Presbiteri, »
Surius, II (Feb. 1), 15-16.

Aemilianus dixit : « Praeceperunt
deos coli. » Fructuosus episcopus
dixit : « Ego unum Deum colo, qui
fecit coelum et terram, mare et omnia
quæ in eis sunt. »

Surius.

When Félix hears that Polyeucte has desecrated the temple, he hesitates to carry out the edict of the emperor because of the affection which, as in the source, he has for his son-in-law :

FÉLIX.

Quelque indigne qu'il soit de ce doux
nom de gendre,

Mon âme lui conserve un sentiment
plus tendre :

Felix autem cum humanâ et mise-
rabili quadam affectione de sancto
cogitans....

Cert. Poly., 8.

La grandeur de son crime et de mon
déploir
N'a pas éteint l'amour qui me l'a fait
choisir.

Poly., III, 3; 869-72.

Among the means which he used to make Polyeucte recant is the unhistorical execution of Néarque before the eyes of Polyeucte, a suggestion from similar incidents in saints' lives. Polyeucte's fortitude and desire to follow Néarque in death (III, 4; 958-60) is, also, characteristic. Finding that this means has failed, Félix asks his daughter to use her influence, as suggested by the source :

FÉLIX.

FELIX.

A gagner Polyeucte appliquez tous
vos soins.

« Si velis, inquit, o Polyeucte aliquantisper vivere, donec tuam videas uxorem. »

Poly., III, 4; 991.

Cert. Poly.

Félix feels that he is greatly to be pitied, since he is obliged, as the representative of the emperor, to put to death his own son-in-law :

FÉLIX.

FELIX.

Que je suis malheureux !

ALBIN.

Tout le monde vous plaint.

FÉLIX.

On ne sait pas les maux dont mon
cœur est atteint.

« Heu, dixit, Felix est privatus liberis; et qui prius eram insignis et suscipiebam propter filios, repente me affligit filiorum orbitas. Nullus deorum nec hominum potest misereri Polyeucti qui talia est ausus. »

Cert. Poly., 8.

Je déplore sa perte, et le voulant
sauver,

J'ai la gloire des Dieux ensemble à
conserver :

Je redoute leur foudre et celui de
Décie.

Poly., III, 5; 1003-4, 1015-17.

The visit of Félix to Polyeucte in prison, referred to at the beginning of act IV, and his threats are a modification of the source. Here he displays the same fortitude as did the historical Polyeuctus when scourged :

POLYEUCTE.

J'ai ri de ta menace, et t'ai vu sans effroi.

Poly., IV, 1; 1084.

Has ergo plagas, ut dictum est parum curabat Polyuctus.

Cert. Poly., 10.

Polyeucte is now to undergo a still greater trial, the pleadings of his wife, who comes to him in tears. In Surius, Felix, also in tears, accompanies his daughter, both sent by Satan :

POLYEUCTE [à Félix in absentia].

Tu prends pour t'en venger de plus puissantes armes ;

Je craignois beaucoup moins tes bourreaux que ses larmes.

Poly., IV, 1; 1085-6.

Luctabantur autem adversus aliam diaboli maligni artem. Nam cum ille ad eum adduxit socerum et uxorem lacrymantes et miserabiliter ejulantes, sic conabatur ejus animam suis decipere praestigiis et pro viribus dissolvere ejus robur et constantiam.

Cert. Poly., 10.

The *stances* of IV, 2 are merely suggested by the source, in which is seen the Cartesian method of combating temptation :

Is autem non ignorans maligni insidias, cum seipso valde utiliter conturbasset, animamque fortitudinem et iram excitasset, et quae ex lacrimis oritur, effoeminatae mollitiei eam opposuisset.

Cert. Poly., 10.

Borrowings or parallels from Godeau, Lucretius, and Publius Syrus are noted by Marty-Laveaux (vol. III, pp. 539-40).

There is little in the source to suggest IV, 3 except the comparison of the heathen gods with the God of the Christians and the desire of Polyeucte to convert Pauline :

POLYEUCTE.

Quand on meurt pour son Dieu, quelle sera la mort !

PAULINE.

Quel Dieu !

POLYEUCTE.

Tout beau, Pauline : il entend vos paroles,

Et ce n'est pas un Dieu comme vos Dieux frivoles,

.

« Si solus, inquit [Polyeuctus], ego duodecim deos tuos vici et contrivi : ecce deorum es omnino egēna. »

Cert. Poly., 10.

POLYEUCTE.

Au nom de cet amour, daignez suivre
mes pas.

PAULINE.

C'est peu de me quitter, tu veux donc
me séduire ?

POLYEUCTE.

C'est peu d'aller au ciel, je vous y
veux conduire.

Poly, IV, 3; 1214-16, 1282-4.

« Adesdum ergo, inquit [Polyeuctus],
Paulina et faciam ut verum Deum co-
gnoscas, quem ipsa stude diligente
adorare, et hac brevi vitâ aeternam
commutare. »

Ibid., 10.

Sévère, sent for by Polyeucte, appears (IV, 4) and learns that the latter is willing for him to marry Pauline after his death. A similar scene occurs in Benserade's *Cléopâtre*, in which Antoine bids Cléopâtre make love to Octavius; but she refuses to do so, just as Pauline refuses to marry Sévère. The generosity of Polyeucte may be compared to that of Scipion in the play of that name by Desmaretz, where, as here, the hero is willing to hand over to his rival the woman with whom he is in love (37). Pauline, however, is unwilling to marry the man who directly or indirectly may be the cause of the death of her husband (vs. 1341-46). Similar sentiments are expressed by Chimène (*Le Cid*) and Camille (*Horace*, II, 5; 567-8). Sévère is now asked to use his influence to save his rival, Polyeucte, and thus prove the depth of his love for Pauline. He is placed in a dilemma similar to that of Rodrigue (*Le Cid*): since love is based on esteem, Pauline could not love him if he allows Polyeucte to die without trying to save him, and she cannot marry him, of course, if Polyeucte is saved; hence, he decides (IV, 6) to equal her in *vertu*, with the hope of winning

La gloire de montrer à cette âme si belle
Que Sévère l'égale, et qu'il est digne d'elle.

Poly., IV, 6; 1391-2.

Corneille presents in Sévère the pagan who attains the Christian ideal of self-sacrifice, but who, while admiring the Christian virtues, does not feel constrained to give up his own gods. He has been characterized by commentators as a pagan philos-

(37) I am indebted to Professor Lancaster for the references to Benserade and Desmaretz.

opher and has been compared to Alexander Severus. Some extracts from a life of the latter (38) will serve to show his attitude toward the Christians :

Les Juifs et Chrestiens, qui estoient pour lors en Italie, estoient mal traictez et persecutez, dequoy feirent plainte à Alexandre, qui commanda qu'on les laissast vivre en leur loy. pourveu que feissent leurs ceremonies et prieres secretes. XI, 20.

En un coing de son palais avoit dressé un cabinet en forme d'oratoire, dans lequel estoient paincts les dieux, qu'il estimoit plus puissans, et les princes qui avoyent renommée d'avoir esté plus vertueux : et pour les dieux principaux y estoient contrefaits, Abraham, Jesus-Christ, Orpheus. XI, 29.

Voulut en outre faire edifier un temple en l'honneur de Jesus Christ, et le nombrer entre ses dieux tutelaires : ce que les prestres sacrificateurs empescherent, luy donnans entendre que leur oracle prophetisoit, que s'il faisoit comme avoit proposé, tous les autres temples iroyent en decadence, et le peuple se feroit Chrestien. XI, 38-9.

Much the same attitude is shown by Sévère in IV, 6 ; 1411-37.

The trial of Polyeucte (V, 2 and 3) has some points of similarity with that of Saint Paul before Agrippa, in which the latter, after listening to the exposition of Christian principles, exclaims, perhaps ironically, « Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian » (39). Of course Polyeucte recognizes the insincerity of the request of Félix for instruction in Christian principles :

Pour me faire chrétien, sers-moi de guide à l'être
(vs. 1524),

for he replies,

N'en riez point, Félix, il [Dieu] sera votre juge
(vs. 1527).

The end of the trial (V, 3) is typical of trials in *Surius*, consisting generally of questions and short replies about the nature of the God of the Christians, a command to worship the heathen gods, a threat of death for non-compliance, a reply that death is not feared, and the final sentence to martyrdom :

(38) « Alexander Severus, » tr. by Allègre, in the Supplement to Amyot's *Hommes illustres de Plutarque*, Paris, Cussac, 1787, tome onzième.

(39) *Acts of the Apostles* (King James Version), XXVI, 28.

FÉLIX.

Enfin ma bonté cède à ma juste
fureur : (40)
Adore-les, ou meurs.

POLYEUCTE.

Je suis chrétien.

FÉLIX.

Adore-les, te dis-je, ou renonce à la
vie.

POLYEUCTE.

Je suis chrétien.

FÉLIX.

Tu l'es ? O cœur trop obstiné !
Soldats, exécutez l'ordre que j'ai
donné.

Poly., V, 3; 1674-8.

The suggestion that the people may object to the condemna-
tion of Polyeucte is found in the source :

Que la rage du peuple à présent se
déploie...

Poly., V, 4; 1687.

Partim quidem promissis, partim
vero etiam minis sanctum student
in contrariam tradere sententiam.

Cert. Poly., 10.

Pauline returns from the scene of the execution and declares
that she has become a Christian. In Surius Paulina is not con-
verted, but many conversions take place at the trial of Po-
lyeuctus, so many in fact that Felix feels compelled to bring
the trial to a speedy end :

Cum haec (*i. e.* the words of Polyeuctus) sic dicerentur, ut multi infideles per
ipsum ad fidem in Christum converterentur...

Cert. Poly., 10.

If one may believe the Lives of the Saints, conversions were
common, the rule rather than the exception. The following
passage contains instances of conversions among the upper
classes as in the play :

Quid multa ? Videntur populi, quod erat factum, magnificabant Deum Faus-
tini et Jovitæ, et multi ex eis crediderunt in Domino; inter quos simul etiam

(40) Compare Horace's « C'est trop, ma patience à la raison fait place »
(Horace, IV, 5; 1319).

Colocerus qui erat in officio Imperatoris, cum multis officialibus suis crediderunt Christo. Sed et Afra, conjunx Italici, relicto errore idololatriæ credentium sociata est numero.

Martyrium SS. Faustini et Jovitæ, Surius, II, 389-90 (Feb. 15).

Pauline, like Sabine, presents herself before her father, who resembles Horace in shedding the blood of his own family, and asks to be given the punishment suffered by her husband, since she has committed the same crime :

PAULINE [à Félix].

Joins ta fille à ton gendre; ose : que tardes-tu ?
Tu vois le même crime, ou la même vertu.

Poly., V, 5; 1721-2.

SABINE [à Horace].

Joins Sabine à Camille, et ta femme à ta sœur;
Nos crimes sont pareils, ainsi que nos misères.

Hor., IV, 7; 1342-3.

Finally, through the grace of God, Félix is converted, contrary to the source. Corneille departed from the historical ending because he wished to show the spirit of the lives of the saints, where the power of Christianity is the dominant note. Whether or not he should have sacrificed historical accuracy depends on the credence which may be given, in a work so distinctly Christian, to the miracles and the doctrine of divine grace.

From the foregoing study we may conclude that *Polyeucte* had its origin in suggestions from a group of religious plays which appeared shortly before its presentation, and that the choice of subject was determined by Bartolommei's *Polietto*, to which the French play shows certain resemblances not found in the common source, Surius. Corneille probably read widely in saints' lives and acquainted himself with the spirit of the early Christian martyrs and was impressed with the dominant note, the power of Christianity in a pagan world, manifesting itself in conversions, which the Christian mind would interpret as due to the grace of God. In the Vulgate he found divergent views on the bestowal of grace : one, that it is given to God's elect, the other, to those who believe ; hence, it is not necessary to go to the controversy between Jansenists and Molinists to explain the use of this motif, since it is born of the subject itself. Furthermore, there is no hint in the play of a contro-

versial attitude toward the doctrine of grace. The Vulgaté supplied the dramatist with Scriptural references supplementary to those of the source, and the saints' lives furnished the several types of reaction to Christianity, with the possible exception of that of the philosopher Sévère, found perhaps in a life of the emperor Alexander Severus. What the legend lacked in dramatic motifs was supplied from the contemporary stage, Scudéry's *Mort de César*, Mairet's *Sophonisbe*, and the dramatist's *Cid* and *Horace*. Scudéry furnished the suggestion for opening the play as in the case of *Cinna*. In the dénouement the conversions denote the rejection of the particular for the general, in accordance with good poetic practice, the dramatist realizing, perhaps, that the audience would not tax him with historical inaccuracy, since Surlus was not as well known as Livy or Seneca.

CHAPTER VI

POMPÉE

After bringing out *Polyeucte*, his first religious play, Corneille, acting in part on suggestions of friends and critics, returned to types which he had previously tried, and composed in the same winter a comedy, *Le Menteur*, and a tragedy based on Roman history, *La Mort de Pompée* (1). Of the latter he said, « J'ai fait *Pompée* pour satisfaire à ceux qui ne trouvoient pas les vers de *Polyeucte* si puissants que ceux de *Cinna*, et leur montrer que j'en saurois bien retrouver la pompe quand le sujet le pourroit souffrir » (2), showing a certain association of the two plays, *Cinna* and *Pompée*, in the mind of the poet. The connection was, perhaps, closer than he revealed, since it is possible that both pieces were suggested by Scudéry's *Mort de César*. This play and *Pompée* present Caesar after the battle of Pharsalia, discuss the emperor's clemency, and associate with him the incongruous figures of Antony and Lepidus. Another contributing factor may have been the appearance of Chaulmer's *Mort de Pompée* (1638), bearing the same title as the first edition of the play under discussion, with an opening scene similar in construction, and presenting Cornélie, Cléopâtre, and Photin. Garnier's *Cornélie*, of which Corneille made some use, could hardly have suggested the subject, but should rather be put with the historical material which Corneille

(1) *Épître du Menteur*, M.-L., IV, 130.

(2) *Ibid.*

brought together while composing the play. His final decision may have been influenced by three other plays dealing with subjects from Roman-Egyptian history, which, although showing no direct influence, tend to reveal the popular taste, a factor to which Corneille gave considerable attention : Benserade's *Cléopâtre* (repr. 1635), Mairet's *Marc-Antoine* (repr. 1635), and Guérin de Bouscal's *Cléomène* (priv. 1639), in which Ptolemy appears.

The principal historical source of *Pompée* is Lucan's *Pharsalia*, of which the play seems at first sight to be a dramatization. Corneille's predilection for the Latin epic has been abundantly established, dating from his college days, when he received a prize for a French translation of a selection of the poem. That the suggestion for writing *Pompée* did not come from this source is probable for the reasons given above. Lucan was used before by Chaulmer in *La Mort de Pompée*, but not so extensively as by Corneille in his play, with his greater familiarity with the Latin poet and his established tendency to use even the slightest detail of his source. His extensive borrowings have been amply established, first by himself, then by Marty-Laveaux, and more recently by Matzke (3) and Dr. Liffert (4). He also made use of Plutarch's lives of Caesar, Pompey, and probably Antony, and the historical works of Appian, Dio, Caesar (*Civil Wars*), and Hirtius. Both Matzke and Dr. Liffert have gone into the question of borrowings in great detail, the former showing to what extent Plutarch was used, and the latter making certain additions to the findings of Matzke and, in some cases, adding possible corrections. There are, however, some obscure or disputed points, and the connection between the play and Scudéry's *Mort de César* is yet to be discussed.

Corneille's explanation for not putting the scene of *Pompée* in a definite place is that, since Pompey was killed at Pelusium and Caesar landed at Alexandria, he did not wish to name either place in the play, « de peur que le nom de l'une [ville] n'arrêtât

(3) J. E. Matzke, « The Sources of Corneille's Tragedy *La Mort de Pompée* », *M. L. N.*, XV (1900), 142-152.

(4) Carl Liffert, *Der Einfluss der Quellen, etc.*, chap. on *Pompée*.

l'imagination de l'auditeur, et ne lui fit remarquer malgré lui la fausseté de ce qui s'est passé ailleurs (5) ». In writing the play he was thinking of his audience, who were acquainted with the historical events as related by Plutarch, and his attitude was influenced by criticism of Chaulmer for putting his play « sur le bord de la rivière de Peluse ».

The presence of Antoine and Lépidé as the friends of César, accompanying him whenever he appears, may best be explained by the fact that they are found in Scudéry's *Mort de César* in identical rôles (6). In both plays Antoine acts as the *confident* of César, and Lépidé is a supernumerary, with only thirty-six verses in Scudéry and as a mute character in *Pompée*. Corneille did not hesitate to use Antoine in the incongruous part of César's *confident* because of this precedent; and in sending him with messages of love from César to Cléopâtre, he shows the first meeting between the young Roman and the Egyptian queen, when the former is, as in history, smitten with love at first sight and exclaims,

Et si j'étois César, je la voudrois aimer

(III, 3; 952).

Charmion may be explained as the historical *confidente* of Cleopatra in Plutarch's *Antony*, or because she appeared in Chaulmer's play.

In the opening scene of *Pompée* the battle of Pharsalia is described, following a suggestion, possibly, from Scudéry's *Mort de César*, where a similar description is found in the first scene. There are verbal resemblances in the first verse of each play:

Le destin se déclare.

Pomp., I, 1; 1.

Ne deliberons plus, le sort en est ietté.

M. de C., I, 1; 1.

Two counsellors of the king, Achilles and Photin, are found in Chaulmer and the sources; the third, Septime, was formerly a soldier under Pompey.

(5) *Examen de Pompée* M.-L., IV, 20. Corneille added, below the list of *acteurs*, « la scène est en Alexandrie ».

(6) Matzke (*op. cit.*) was at a loss to explain the presence of these two Romans in the play, and sought an explanation in history, which shows them as two of the second triumvirate of which Augustus was the third.

Corneille supposes a previous meeting of César and Cléopâtre (II, 1), in which the former was struck with the beauty of the young woman. Matzke brings up a similar incident in the life of Antony by Plutarch, but fails to note the fact that, while using this motif in the case of César, he also preserves it in dealing with Antoine (III, 3).

Cornélie's attitude toward César (IV, 4) reminds one of Emilie. The former saves César from his assassins that she herself may punish him for her husband's death, and the latter says of Auguste,

Sa perte, que je veux, me deviendrait amère,
Si quelqu'un l'immoloit à d'autres qu'à mon père.

Cinna, 1, 2 ; 101-2.

The scene of the urn (V, 1) recalls the setting of Garnier's *Cornélie* and shows certain verbal resemblances noted by Voltaire. In Maréchal's *Mausolée* (acted. 1640) occurs a similar scene, with a widow and an urn containing her husband's ashes (7).

In summary and conclusion: the genesis of *Pompée* may be traced to suggestions from the contemporary stage as in previous tragedies, in particular to Scudéry's *Mort de César* and Chaulmer's *Mort de Pompée*. There are certain rather striking resemblances to the former, especially the preservation of Antoine and Lépide in the incongruous rôles of César's companions and the use of César as hero. The avoidance of the name of Julius Caesar as title of the play may have been due to hesitancy on the part of Corneille to give the public an opportunity to connect his play with that of his rival, especially since he was conscious, although no one had suspected it, of indebtedness to Scudéry in his preceding two tragedies. The difficulty in determining the subject of *Pompée* may be due to the fact that Corneille's chief purpose was to present Julius Caesar, and since the death of Caesar as a subject of tragedy had been preemplied by Scudéry, he was forced to choose the next most striking episode, which unfortunately failed to develop a moral question which would give unity of purpose

(7) I. 1. Professor Lancaster called my attention to this reference.

to the play as a whole. In *Pompée* the dramatist worked principally from the historians and the epic poet Lucan, depending to a less degree than in any piece since his earlier comedies on plays of his own or of others. For the first time he failed to introduce the rejected lover into a tragedy. In developing the plot he avoided motifs which he had previously used with good effect, such as the dream and the « tête » episode. This withdrawal from the stage and its devices for guidance is perhaps the explanation of the fact that *Pompée* seems more like a page from history than a purposeful play.

CHAPTER VII

RODOGUNE

Corneille's predilection for *Rodogune* (1) may best be explained by the fact, which has hitherto not been sufficiently shown, that the play had its origin in his previous dramatic experience and that it owed less in inception and composition to plays of others than any preceding tragedy. As has been pointed out in the foregoing chapters, Corneille worked with plays before him when writing his tragedies, and the same is true for the two comedies immediately preceding *Rodogune*, namely, *Le Menteur* and *La Suite du Menteur*. Here for the first time he seems to have found in his reading of history the suggestion for a play. The story used is that related by Appian and Justin of an ambitious Syrian queen, Cleopatra, who was willing to sacrifice her two sons to further her plans. The reason for the appeal to the dramatist's imagination was that he saw therein an opportunity to present a second Médée (2), not the Medea of Seneca, but a character which he could now regard as his own creation. The play owed nothing to his con-

(1) In explaining his preference for *Rodogune* Corneille said in 1660, « peut-être y entre-t-il un peu d'amour-propre, en ce que cette tragédie me semble être un peu plus à moi que celles qui l'ont précédée », *Examen de Rodogune*, M.-L., IV, 420-21. He points with pride to the « incidents surprenants », as his own invention, but he fails to mention the fact that the play is the result of his previous dramatic experience. Fontenelle explains the preference on the ground that it took Corneille a year to write the play (see note of Marty-Laveaux, M.-L., IV, 421, n. 1).

(2) In 1647 Corneille referred to Cléopatre as « cette seconde Médée », in the *Avertissement de Rodogune*, M.-L., IV, 416.

temporaries, Rotrou, Mairet, or Scudéry, to whom he was conscious of indebtedness in former plays, although no one but himself had been aware of the fact. However, this complete independence cannot be established beyond question, since there appeared about the same time a play with the same title and based on the same story. Gilbert's *Rodogune* has generally been considered a plagiarism on the ground that Corneille, so frank in naming his sources, did not mention it; but this argument cannot be used, in view of the dramatist's silence, as shown in this study, in regard to indebtedness to contemporaries. Nevertheless, the preponderance of evidence seems to point to the independence of Corneille, and hence we may dismiss Gilbert for the moment and show the way in which Corneille developed the story of the Syrian queen into a play.

The historical sources which he mentioned are Appian, Justin, Josephus, and the *Maccabees*. He used the historical material in the first and fifth acts, composing the remaining three from motifs and situations of his previous plays, *Médée*, *Le Cid*, and *Cinna*, with at least one verse from *Horace*.

The four principal characters, Cléopâtre, Séleucus, Antiochus, and Rodogune are found with the same names in the sources. The historical Cleopatra resembles Médée in wilfulness of character and readiness to sacrifice the lives of her two sons to further her ends, and, like her, is deserted by her husband and does not scruple to use poison. Her rival, Rodogune, married her husband, but Corneille changes this to an engagement, a relationship similar to that between Jason and Médée's rival, Créuse. Furthermore, according to one historian, Cleopatra killed her husband after he had married Rodogune (3), and Corneille supposes that she committed the deed, if for no other reason, to prevent the marriage of her husband and her rival, a situation similar to that of Médée, who slew Créuse. Cléopâtre is depicted in the play as a woman of the court, more astute and tactful than her prototype. On the stage both she and Médée hesitate before preparing to slay their offspring and conquer maternal feelings with similar ar-

(3) Appian, *Roman History*, tr. by Horace White, London, Heineman, 1913, II, 235.

guments. In characterizing Rodogune, about whom history is almost silent, the dramatist drew on his former creation, Pauline, for both women are willing to take the husband whom political reasons dictate and assure us that love will follow where duty leads. History depicts Seleucus and Antiochus as ambitious and not much superior in moral character to their mother. Their elevation of character is Corneille's invention and is the most extreme case of this kind in plays thus far studied. The violence of Créon toward Médée is softened by allowing him to offer her the day of grace, but this is, as we have seen, the result of a suggestion from Hardy. Cléopâtre in *Pompée* shows a gratitude and a desire for fair play which history, perhaps, does not warrant. When M. Lanson speaks of Corneille's « altération des caractères » as « plus grave, et de plus de conséquence », he gives as examples Cléopâtre (*Pompée*) — but justifies Corneille in saying that he may have followed Baronius instead of Plutarch — Auguste, Othon, Flaminius, and Nicomède (4). In Auguste, as we have seen, the dramatist was following Seneca and Suetonius, and it is probable that this tendency to alter history does not manifest itself in a pronounced way before *Rodogune*, where the historical background was not so well known by the public and the critics.

To bring together the rivals, Cléopâtre and Rodogune, whom history keeps apart, Corneille allows Rodogune, sister of the hostile Parthian king, Phraates, to be taken prisoner by the Syrian army. This incident and the subsequent marriage of the prisoner to the future ruler, who becomes enamored of her, were suggested by a similar sequence of events in the life of the daughter of Cleopatra's husband, Demetrius :

Phraates had funeral rites performed for him [Antiochus, brother of Demetrius] as a king, and married the daughter of Demetrius, whom Antiochus had brought with him [in his expedition against Parthia], and of whom he had become enamoured (5).

Later, in writing of *Rodogune*, Corneille seems to have forgotten

(4) G. Lanson, *Corneille*, Paris, Hachette, 6^e éd., 1922, pp. 82-83.

(5) Justin, *History of the World* (XXXVIII, 10), tr. by J. S. Watson, London, Bell, 1902.

his indebtedness to this passage, for he attributes the change to his own invention and justifies himself on the ground that it is not incompatible with history (6). Justin, however, tells us that Demetrius twice abandoned Rodogune and their children and was twice captured, the second time near the borders of his kingdom — the inference being that he was trying to return to his first wife — and when he finally regained his throne, he was apparently restored to the good graces of his wife for a time, since he afterwards came to the assistance of his mother-in-law, Cleopatra, who subsequently « fled into Syria to her daughter and son-in-law, Demetrius (7) ».

- That the choice of the son as ruler should rest with the mother, Cléopâtre, may come from an incident in Justin, which occurred at the time of the events described in the play :

During these unnatural contentions in the kingdom of Syria (*i. e.* the events of which the plot of *Rodogune* forms a part) Ptolemy, king of Egypt, died, leaving the kingdom of Egypt to his wife, and one of her two sons, whichever she herself should choose (8).

The Egyptian queen, however, was deprived of her right, since the people compelled her to name the elder of the two sons. If Corneille had this incident in mind, he may have supposed that the sons of the Syrian queen were twins for the purpose of giving to her the sole right of choice, she alone knowing, in that case, which was first born.

The suggestion for opening the play on the day of the wedding of the rival of Cléopâtre comes from *Médée*, the marriage to take place with her son, however, and not her husband. As *Médée* was to be driven into exile, so the Syrian queen sees herself about to be dethroned and the woman, who in the play was engaged to her husband, about to take her place. « La cruelle proposition » (9) which each woman makes with a view of ridding herself of her rival is nothing more than a variant of the « tête » motif found in Guillén de Castro

(6) *Examen* (1660) de *Rodogune*, M.-L., IV, 420.

(7) *Op. cit.*, XXXIX, 1.

(8) *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 3.

(9) *Examen de Rodogune*, M.-L., IV, 425.

and used in *Le Cid* and *Cinna* (10): the head of the other woman is the price which the sons are to pay for either the throne or the love of Rodogune. This proposal and the subsequent reactions of the sons fill the greater part of the non-historical second, third, and fourth acts.

Thus the historical sources and Corneille's previous dramatic experience are sufficient to explain the genesis and the composition of *Rodogune*. The evidence, however, for Corneille's independence of Gilbert remains to be given.

In both plays the sons love the captive princess; their mother offers to give the throne to the one who will kill the princess; the latter offers to marry the one who will kill his mother; one of the brothers offers to yield the throne to the other in exchange for the princess, and the other contends that he who is to rule should marry the princess (11). None of these motifs is found in the historical sources; but the « tête » motif goes back in each case to two plays of Corneille, *Le Cid* and *Cinna*, from which, however, Gilbert might have taken it as well as Corneille. The most convincing evidence of Corneille's priority is found in the fact that none of his contemporaries accused him of plagiarism, which would hardly be true had they been given an opportunity to prove a clearer case than that of *Le Cid*. That later critics should take the same view is due in part to the fact that they have been laboring under a misconception of Corneille's relation to his dramatic contemporaries, thinking that he worked almost independently of them. Suspicion seems, on the other hand, to center on Gilbert owing to the fact that his names are not those of the historical accounts, while those of Corneille are, and it seems strange that he should thus seek to conceal his sources, if they were historical, since it was good dramatic practice to reveal them (12). The other

(10) See note 23 of foregoing chapter on *Le Cid*.

(11) Cf. Gilbert, II, 4 with Corneille, I, 3; Gilbert, III, 2, 3, with Corneille, II, 3; Gilbert, IV, 3 with Corneille, III, 4; Gilbert, IV, 4, with Corneille, III, 5.

(12) Corneille preserved the names found in the sources and the historic rôles, whereas Gilbert used the same story, but changed the names. Gilbert used the name of Rhodogune for the queen, Darie and Artaxerce for the sons, Hydaspes for the husband, and Lidie for the captive princess. With the excep-

alternative is to accept the explanation ordinarily given, that he made an attempt to rewrite Corneille's play, of which he had seen the first four acts in manuscript or heard them read. Since the fifth act is quite different, he may have either not known that of Corneille or else tried to show some originality. He probably kept the title used by Corneille because he wished to have his play given at another theatre as a rival to Corneille's play, a common practice of the day. Moreover, since the name of Cléopâtre does not appear in the spoken portion of Corneille's play, he may have believed that the name of Corneille's leading character was that of his title, Rodogune, and been led in this way to assign this name to his own principal rôle. Finally, it can be shown that Gilbert could have worked with Corneille's play before him without recourse to the historical sources, since the incidents which he uses may all be found with minor exceptions in that play (13).

The play opens on the « jour illustre », when the queen, Cléopâtre, is to declare which of her twin sons was born first, thereby naming the future ruler, who is to wed the captive princess Rodogune, and thus concluding peace between the warring houses of Syria and Parthia. This is Corneille's invention, but the choice of the wedding day for the action of the play was suggested, as we have seen, by *Médée*, and the uniting of the two houses through the marriage of the captive princess to the future ruler has been shown to have a parallel in the union of the captive daughter of Demetrius to the Parthian king Phraates. The dramatist supposes that through a treaty with the Parthians the queen is to give her son in marriage to the woman who was engaged to her husband Démétrius (historically she was married to him). She will, thereby, be replaced on the throne by the woman whom she hates, for reasons

tion of Lidie and Hydaspe these names are found in Justin, and seem to be chosen at random. Hydaspe may have been suggested by Hystaspes in Justin, who mentions « Darius the son of Hystaspes », but the latter has no son named Artaxerxes. The city of Susa, substituted for the historic scene of the play, Seleucia, is found in Justin.

(13) I have not read Gilbert's play, owing to its inaccessibility. Professor Lancaster kindly put his notes at my disposal and suggested the arguments for Corneille's priority.

similar to those of Médée in respect to Créuse, and, hence, she will be animated throughout the play by a similar desire to despatch her rival. As in history, she will not hesitate to plot the death of her sons, thus resembling Médée. In the first scene are recounted the main historical incidents leading up to those of the play. Corneille follows his sources in telling how Tryphon (at first called Diodotus) started a revolt against the queen Cléopâtre (after her husband, Démétrius, had been captured by the Parthians) and won over half of the kingdom. He then supposes that the queen, fearful for the safety of her two sons, had sent them out of the kingdom, following a suggestion, perhaps, from Appian, who says « she had sent Grypus (*i. e.* Antiochus) to Athens... to be educated » (14). In the play the boys have been reared at Memphis, at the court of their uncle (I, 1; 87-8). Marty-Laveaux points out that Corneille makes here an historical error, for it was Cleopatra's uncle, not her brother, who was reigning in Egypt at the time. Since the change is unessential to the development of the plot, the error may be due to a passage in Justin :

Mittit (*i. e.* Ptolemy) igitur ingentia Grypo auxilia, et filiam Tryphaenam Gripo nupturam, ut populos in auxilium nepotis... sollicitaret (15).

Here the relationship of Ptolemy and Grypus (Antiochus) is expressed by the word *nepos*, which may be translated by « nephew » (16), and Corneille might have thought that the uncle whose daughter Antiochus afterwards married was the brother of the Cleopatra of the play and was reigning when Antiochus and Seleucus were boys.

After the capture of Démétrius by the Parthians, the Syrian queen marries her brother-in-law, Antiochus, being persuaded to do so by the people (I, 1; 47-49), a motif which Corneille later attributed to his own invention, but which really came from Josephus :

Cleopatra sent to him [Antiochus] and invited him to marry her, and to take the kingdom. The reasons why she made this invitation were these : that

(14) Appian's *Roman History*, II, p. 235.

(15) Justini *Hist.*, XXXIX, 2.

(16) « NEPOS, Filius fratris aut sororis, » Du Cange, *Glos. Med. Inf. Lat.*, V, 587.

her friends persuaded her to it, and that she was afraid for herself, in case some of the people of Seleucia should deliver up the city to Trypho (17).

Appian, Josephus, and Justin agree that Antiochus comes and defeats Trypho as in the play. The rumor that Démétrius had died before Cléopâtre decides to marry Antiochus is an invention of the dramatist, as is also the wish of the queen that Antiochus should put one of her sons on the throne (I, 1; 59-60). Corneille explains that he wished to put the heroine in as favorable a light as possible (18). After the marriage of Antiochus to Cléopâtre, the new king makes war against the Parthians, historically to free his brother, but in the play because of his « ardeur militaire », a change necessitated by the fact that in the play Démétrius is already dead. The new king is at first successful in his campaign, as in the sources. The narrative is here interrupted and in the following two scenes (I, 2, and 3) the two brothers appear.

Antiochus and Séleucus speak of their love for Rodogune, for whom each would willingly forego the crown. This unhistorical motif Corneille afterwards used in *Nicomède* (19). Their rivalry is to be conditioned, however, on fair play, in which friendship is not to be endangered. That they should be actuated by such noble sentiments is, as has been said, not compatible with history. As in the case of Cléopâtre, so here the dramatist preferred to depict his characters with tendencies as good as possible. One is reminded of friendships such as that of David and Jonathan, and it is at least interesting to note that Corneille was using as one of his sources an account of the Jews (Josephus).

The exposition, interrupted by the appearance of the brothers, is again resumed at the request of Timagène :

Mais, de grâce, achevez l'histoire commencée (20).

(17) Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, tr. by Wm. Whiston, Philadelphia, Grigg, 1829, 2 v.; XIII, vii, sec. 1. In 1660 Corneille said in the *examen* to the play : « Cléopâtre n'épousa Antiochus qu'en haine de ce que son mari avoit épousé Rodogune chez les Parthes, et je fais qu'elle ne l'épouse que par la nécessité de ses affaires,... », M.-L., IV, 424.

(18) *Examen de Rodogune*, IV, 424.

(19) As did Racine subsequently in *Mithridate*.

(20) I, 4; 215.

The artificial nature of the exposition is apparent, since Timagène, living at the court of Cléopâtre's brother might be supposed to know something about the events which took place in the kingdom of Syria. Antiochus, we are told, meets defeat and takes his life as in Appian (21). This brings us to the events immediately preceding those of the play. After the death of Antiochus, the queen hears that her first husband, whom she believed dead, is living: the false report and subsequent rectification are not found in the sources. She also hears that Démétrius, incensed at his wife's marriage to Antiochus, has determined to marry Rodogune :

Que piqué jusqu'au vif contre son hyménée,
Son âme à l'imiter s'étoit déterminée

(vs. 232-3).

This excuse is an invention and is a motive given by Appian for Cleopatra's marriage to Antiochus. The desire of Démétrius to place Rodogune on the throne and to insure the inheritance to their children (I, 4 ; 241-8) is historically improbable, as has been shown, but it is used to justify Cléopâtre in her anger toward her faithless husband, who is depicted as inexorable at the entreaties of his wife :

On a beau la défendre, on a beau le prier,
On ne rencontre en lui qu'un juge inexorable

(vs. 238-39),

thus making of him a second Jason. The « embûche » which the queen prepares for him (I, 4 ; 259) is in Appian (22), who seems to be the sole authority for attributing the death of Demetrius to his wife (23) :

Le Roi meurt, et, dit-on, par la main de la Reine

(vs. 263).

The sons of Démétrius, therefore, have the death of a father to avenge, a situation similar to that of Chimène and Emilie. Furthermore Rodogune, historically the second wife, in the

(21) Justin and Josephus say he was killed.

(22) See extract from Appian given by Corneille, M.-L., IV, 414.

(23) Appian's *Roman History*, II, 235. Justin and Josephus say that he was slain at Tyre.

play the fiancée of Démétrius, finds herself in a like position. Hence, one of the motifs of the play will be vengeance and Rodogune, following the example of Chimène and Emilie, will offer her love for the death of the slayer of Démétrius.

Corneille may have found in Justin a suggestion for Cléopâtre's cruelties toward her prisoner, Rodogune. We read that Tryphaena, wife of Grypus (Antiochus of the play), falsely accusing her husband of undue affection toward her sister Cleopatra, sent soldiers into the temple, where her sister was hiding, with orders to kill her: « They, going into the temple, and not being able to drag her away, cut off her hands while she was embracing the statue of the goddess » (24). The « sufferings of captivity » (25), which Tryphaena did not wish her sister to escape are similar to those which Cléopâtre desired to inflict on Rodogune, for Laonice says:

Rodogune captive est livrée à sa haine.
Tous les maux qu'un esclave endure dans les fers,
Alors sans moi, mon frère, elle les eût soufferts.
La Reine, à la gêner prenant mille délices,
Ne commettoit qu'à moi l'ordre de ses supplices.

(I, 4; 264-8.)

After the capture of Rodogune, Corneille supposes that the enraged Parthians lay siege to Séleucie for the purpose of freeing her, are forced to withdraw because of an invasion of their own country by the Armenians, and the captive princess wins over the future king of Syria through her charms and in the end marries him (26). This sequence of events is based on a similar one which took place at the court of Parthia, according to Appian and Justin. When Demetrius was captured by the Parthians, Antiochus marched against them, demanding the release of his brother (27). « It was then that Phraates sent Demetrius into Syria, with a body of Parthians, to seize the throne, so that Antiochus might be recalled from Parthia to secure his own dominions » (28). Antiochus was

(24) Justin, XXXIX, 3.

(25) *Ibid*

(26) I, 4; 271-288.

(27) Appian, *Syrian Wars*, sec. 68 (*Rom. Hist.*, tr. by White, II, 235).

(28) Justin, XXXVIII, 10.

defeated and Phraates « married the daughter of Demetrius, whom Antiochus had brought with him, and of whom he had become enamored » (29).

With the completion of the exposition Corneille presents Rodogune (I, 5), who, according to the treaty, is to marry, unhistorically, the future ruler of Syria. As in former plays (*Médée*, *Le Cid*, *Horace*, *Cinna*, and *Polyeucte*) he supposes that a choice must be made between two lovers, and in *Rodogune* he depicts the woman as subordinating duty to love, recalling Pauline (*Polyeucte*) :

Quelque époux que le ciel veuille me destiner,
C'est à lui pleinement que je veux me donner.
.....
L'hymen me le rendra précieux à son tour,
Et le devoir fera ce qu'auroit fait l'amour,
Sans crainte qu'on reproche à mon humeur forcée
Qu'un autre qu'un mari règne sur ma pensée (30).

Pauline had said,

Je donnai par devoir à son affection
Tout ce que l'autre avoit par inclination (31),

and her course throughout the play is like that which Rodogune now plans for herself.

In the opening scene of the second act Corneille introduces Cléopâtre, for whose characterization he draws largely on his *Médée*. The situations are similar. In both plays it is the wedding day of the rival of the heroine, who has been supplanted in the affections of her husband. The heroine has already done away with a member of her own family to accomplish her ends (32), and she has been forced into an agreement by which she is to be virtually, if not literally, driven out. She has two sons whom she will not hesitate to put to death, and she considers her rival « insatiable », for, after stealing her husband's affections, she now wishes to take her most cherished possession, the scepter, which takes the place of the robe of

(29) *Ibid.*

(30) *Rodogune*, I, 5; 373-4, 377-80.

(31) *Polyeucte*, I, 3; 215-6.

(32) *Médée* slew her brother, Cléopâtre, her husband.

Médée. Like her prototype she is self-reliant, and we can imagine her exclaim in answer to the question, « Que vous restait-il ? »

Moi, dis-je, et c'est assez (33).

In giving vent to her wrath she recalls Médée (34), from whom she differs, however, in the display of greater tact, since she has learned the ways of the court. She knows the value of concealing her feelings until the proper moment :

... haine dissimulée,
Digne vertu des rois, noble secret de cour,
Éclatez, il est temps, et voici notre jour (404-6),

and does not need the advice of a Nérine, who thus speaks to Médée,

Modérez les bouillons de cette violence,
Et laissez déguiser vos douleurs au silence (35).

Rodogune is the « rivale insatiable », who, like Créuse, is not satisfied with stealing the affections of another's husband :

CLÉOPATRE.

MÉDÉE.

C'est encor, c'est encor cette même
ennemie
Qui cherchoit ses honneurs dedans
mon infamie.

Rod., II, 1; 415-6.

C'est trop peu de Jason, que ton œil
me dérobe,
C'est trop peu de mon lit : tu veux
encor ma robe,
Rivale insatiable.

Méd., IV, 1; 961-3.

Cléopatre will not part with the sceptre, but Médée will give up her robe as a means of vengeance :

CLÉOPATRE.

MÉDÉE.

Tremble, te dis-je ; et songe, en dépit
du traité,
Que pour t'en faire un don je l'ai trop
acheté.

Rod., II, 1; 425 6.

Tu l'auras : mon refus seroit un nou-
veau crime :
Mais je t'en veux parer pour être ma
victime.

Méd., IV, 1; 969-70.

The jealousy of Cléopatre is next depicted aroused, as in the case of Médée, by thoughts of the approaching wedding, about which she anxiously inquires :

(33) Médée, I, 5; 320.

(34) Cf. Rodogune, II, 1 with Médée I, 4.

(35) Médée, I, 5; 281-2.

CLÉOPATRE.

MÉDÉE.

Laonice, veux-tu que le peuple s'ap-
prête
Au pompeux appareil de cette grande
fête ?

Eh bien ? Nérine, à quand, à quand
cet hyménée ?
En ont-ils choisi l'heure ? en sais-tu la
journée ?

Rod., II, 2 ; 427-8.

Méd., I, 5 ; 273-4.

It is jealousy aroused through loss of power rather than of love ; for her ruling passion, as Justin depicted her, is ambition to reign. In this respect she resembles the Egyptian queen of the same name, as Corneille conceived her character :

CLÉOPATRE.

J'aurois vu Nicanor épouser Rodogune,
Si content de lui plaire et de me
dédaigner,
Il eût vécu chez elle en me laissant
régner.

Je trouve qu'à bien examiner l'his-
toire, elle [Cléopâtre, reine d'Egypte]
n'avoit que de l'ambition sans amour.
Examen de Pompée, M.-L., IV, 23.

Rod., II, 2 ; 464-6.

After betraying, from desire of
power, her husband Demetrius (*i. e.*
of Cleopatra of the play) (36)...

Cléopâtre intrigues to gain time, as did Medea in Euripides. It will be recalled that Corneille, following a suggestion from Hardy, allowed Créon to offer to Médée the day of grace needed to carry out her plans of vengeance. Cléopâtre is, therefore, more of a dynamic force, unlike her prototype, who is an opportunist :

CLÉOPATRE.

CRÉON [à Médée].

Et moi, j'accordai tout pour obtenir
du temps,
Le temps est un trésor plus grand
qu'on ne peut croire.

Pour en délibérer, et choisir le quar-
tier,
De grâce ma bonté te donne un jour
entier.

Rod., II, 2 ; 514-5.

Méd., II, 2 ; 503-4.

In II, 3 Cléopâtre falsely accuses Rodogune of the death of Démétrius and calls on her sons to avenge their father. The proposal which she now makes, that the throne shall go to him who kills Rodogune, is a variant of the « tête » motif, found in Guillén de Castro and used in *Le Cid* and in *Cinna* (37) :

(36) Justin, XXXIX, 2.

(37) See note 23 of foregoing chapter on *Le Cid*.

CLÉOPATRE.

Si vous voulez régner, le trône est à ce prix.

La mort de Rodogune en nommera l'aîné.

Rod., II, 3; 642, 645.

CHIMÈNE.

A tous vos cavaliers je demande sa tête :

Oui, qu'un d'eux me l'apporte et je suis sa conquête.

Le Cid, IV, 5; 1401-2.

ÉMILIE.

S'il me veut posséder, Auguste doit périr :

Sa tête est le seul prix dont il peut m'acquérir.

Cinna, I, 2; 55-6.

This motif is used later in the case of Rodogune (III, 4). Willingness to allow Cléopatre to reign, as expressed by Séleucus, is incompatible with history, but is in line with Corneille's ennobling of his character :

SÉLEUCUS.

L'ambition n'est pas notre plus grand desir.

Régnez, nous le verrons tous deux avec plaisir.

Rod., II, 3; 609-10.

One of his (*i. e.* Demetrius's) sons, Seleucus, for having assumed the diadem without his mother's consent, was put to death by her.

Justin, XXXIX, 1.

However, Séleucus shows a tendency to disregard his mother's wishes in the following scene, as suggested in the passage cited above from Justin :

Régnons, et son courroux ne sera que foiblesse

(II, 4; 747).

In III, 2 and 3 Rodogune tells us that she was an eye-witness of the death of Démétrius, who called on her for vengeance. Her presence at the time was suggested, perhaps, by a similar situation in *Le Cid* :

RODOGUNE.

Telle que je le vis, quand tout percé de coups

Il me cria : « Vengeance ! Adieu : je meurs pour vous ! »

Rod., III, 3; 861-2.

CHIMÈNE.

Sire, mon père est mort ; mes yeux ont vu son sang

Couler à gros bouillons de son généreux flanc.

Le Cid, II, 8; 659-60.

Like Chimène, when love is about to make her forget her duty to the dead, she recalls the circumstances connected with the

slaying, as an aid to her weakening will (*cf. Rod. III, 3; 855-62 with Le Cid IV, 1; 1125-34*).

RODOGUNE.

CHIMÈNE.

Rapportez à mes yeux son image sanglante.

Rod., III, 3; 859.

Vous qui rendez la force à mes ressentiments,
Voiles, crêpes, habits, lugubres ornements.

Le Cid, IV, 1; 1135-6.

One verse seems to have been suggested by *Horace* (38):

RODOGUNE.

CAMILLE.

J'allois baiser la main qui t'arracha la vie.

Rod., III, 3; 864.

Et baiser une main qui me perçait le cœur.

Hor., IV, 4; 1234.

In the following scene (III, 4) Rodogune makes a proposal to the two princes similar to that of Cléopâtre in II, 3, saying that if they would win her love, they must avenge the death of Démétrius,

Pour gagner Rodogune il faut venger un père;
Je me donne à ce prix : osez me mériter (III, 4; 1044-5),

the use of the « tête » motif, as has been shown. According to Appian Cleopatra feared lest Seleucus might put her to death to avenge his father (39); hence, the double reason used by Rodogune in urging the sons to slay Cléopâtre. Both Antiochus and Séleucus shun the thought of committing murder, the former desiring to reconcile the two women, and the latter willing to forego both throne and princess.

The opening scene of act IV shows us Rodogune in the presence of the man whom she loves and from whom she tries in vain to keep the secret. The proposal that her love shall be won only through avenging the death of Démétrius is made with the assurance that it will not be carried out, being used to gain time. For she desires to follow her duty as demanded by the treaty, marrying the one who shall reign. Then, too, her royal birth demands that she wed only a king:

(38) See the chapter on *Horace* in this study, remarks on verse 1234, where this motif is attributed to the influence of Mairat's *Sophonisba*.

(39) See Corneille's extract from Appian, M.-L., IV, 415: « soit qu'elle craignît qu'il ne la voulût venger,... ».

L'orgueil de ma naissance enfle encor mon courage,
 Et quelque grand pouvoir que l'amour ait sur moi,
 Je n'oublierai jamais que je me dois un roi (IV, 1; 1228-30).

In this respect she resembles the Infante in *Le Cid*.

Antiochus now tries to appeal to maternal love (IV, 2 and 3),
nature, to which Cléopâtre pretends to yield :

En vain j'ai résisté,
 La nature est trop forte, et mon cœur s'est dompté.
Rod., IV, 3; 1361-2.

This theme seems to be an echo of *Médée* and comes up again in V, 1, where some parallels will be given.

In the last scenes of act IV (sc. 4-7) Cléopâtre mocks at the credulity of Rodogune and Antiochus, complains of her lot and the miscarriage of her plans, but declares that she will yet be able to avenge herself. She prepares to kill her sons, but has a short struggle with maternal feelings, which she is able, like *Médée*, to vanquish :

Sors de mon cœur, nature, ou fais qu'ils [mes fils] m'obéissent
 (IV, 7; 1491).

In the interval between acts IV and V Cléopâtre kills one of her sons, Séleucus, evidence of a return to the historical sources abandoned in the first act :

Seleucus... was put to death by her [Cleopatra] (40).

After her failure to accomplish the death of her rival through an appeal to her sons, she had found that they were united in their purpose of protecting her ; hence their death was necessary :

Il me les faut percer pour aller jusqu'à toi [Rodogune]
 (vs. 1486).

She began with Séleucus, since he was the first to divine his mother's intentions :

Mais déjà l'un [Séleucus] a vu que je les veux punir (vs. 1493).

The historians give several reasons for her killing Séleucus :

As soon as Seleucus assumed the diadem after the death of his father Demetrius, his mother shot him dead with an arrow, either fearing lest he

(40) Justin, *op. cit.*, XXXIX, 1.

should avenge his father's murder or moved by an insane hatred for everybody (41).

One of his sons, Seleucus, for having assumed the diadem without his mother's consent, was put to death by her (42).

It will be observed that in the play Séleucus merely thinks about taking the diadem (II, 4 ; 744-5), but does not try to do so, although he was historically the heir, a fact that Cléopâtre reveals to him (IV, 6 ; 1419).

When Cléopâtre returns from the murder (V, 1), her task is but half done, and she hesitates, like Médée, before completing it, restrained for a moment by maternal feelings. Her monologue (V, 1) has some points of resemblance with that of Médée about to slay her children after the death of Créon and Créuse (*Médée*, V, 2). Both women look upon their children as offspring of a faithless husband, reminding her ever of his infidelity :

CLÉOPATRE.

MÉDÉE.

Reste du sang ingrat d'un époux infidèle.
Rod., V, 1 ; 1515.

C'est vous, petits ingrats.
Méd., V, 5 ; 1533.

Antiochus and Rodogune are about to enter (V, 2) to partake of the nuptial cup,

... suivant le vieil ordre en Syrie usité (V, 2 ; 1542),

a custom of which I have not found mention in the sources. When the couple are seated, Cléopâtre sends for the cup, which is poisoned (V, 3), but, before they can drink, Timagène returns with news of the death of Séleucus, repeating his dying words of warning (V, 4). Suspicions are aroused, Rodogune and Antiochus refuse to drink, and Cléopâtre, seeing herself again foiled in her attempt to rid herself of her rival and the heir to the throne, drinks the poison herself and dies with curses on her lips :

Et pour vous souhaiter tous les malheurs ensemble,
Puisse naître de vous un fils qui me ressemble !

(V, 4 ; 1823-4) (43).

Historically Antiochus forced his mother to drink the poison,

(41) Appian, *op. cit.*, II, 235.

(42) Justin, *op. cit.*, XXXIX, 1.

(43) Marty-Laveaux (IV, 507) gives the following note to this verse : « Cor-

but not so in the play, because, as Corneille said in 1647, he wished to give more elevation to the character of the son : « Je l'ai [le dénouement] même adouci tant que j'ai pu en Antiochus, que j'avois fait trop honnête homme, dans le reste de l'ouvrage, pour forcer à la fin sa mère à s'empoisonner soi-même (44). » But Cléopâtre's self-destruction as a crowning act of strong will is so well prepared that one is inclined to think that Corneille's attention was centered rather on the heroine, who remained unconquered even to the end :

Mais j'ai cette douceur dedans cette disgrâce
De ne voir point régner ma rivale en ma place
(V, 4 ; 1815-6).

In conclusion : *Rodogune* is the first tragedy which Corneille wrote without help of plays of others, if Gilbert's play of the same name may be excluded from consideration in this connection. Its inception may be explained by the opportunity, which the historical material furnished, of depicting another Médée. In addition to *Médée*, *Le Cid* and *Polyeucte* were drawn on. The historical data were used in the first and fifth acts, and the play was composed for the most part from motifs and situations of the dramatist's previous plays. Since the historical background was not so well known, Corneille did not hesitate to make certain changes for dramatic reasons or for the sake of the *bienséances*, an example of the latter being the change of relationship of Demetrius and Rodogune. Supplementary incidents needed to round out the plot Corneille gathered from the history of the period treated, denoting a preference for fact rather than for invention.

neille parait se rappeler ici un passage de la *Médéc* de Sénèque dont il n'avait pas profité en traitant ce sujet :

Quoque non aliud queam
Pejus precari, liberos similes patri
Similesque matri.

(Acte I, scène 1, vers 23-25.) »

(44) *Avertissement de Rodogune*, M.-L., IV, 415.

CHAPTER VIII

THÉODORE

Théodore was presented in 1645 or early in 1646, a year or two after *Rodogune*, and represents a return to the lives of the saints used in *Polyeucte*. As in the latter play, the subject was probably suggested by Bartolommei, an Italian contemporary of Corneille, who wrote among other religious plays *Polietto* and *Teodora* (1). According to Saint Ambrose in *De Virginibus*, which Corneille cites as one of his sources (2), the martyrdom of Saint Theodora took place in Syria. It therefore suggested the atmosphere of *Rodogune*, which in turn brought *Médée* to the dramatist's mind, the former being based to a great extent on the latter. Then, too, one of the sources of *Théodore* furnished the motif of abandonment for love of another as in *Médée* and *Rodogune*, and to this Corneille added that of revenge, common, also, to these two plays. The present play owes much to these two tragedies, and under their influence became secular in purpose, representing a development in the theatre of Corneille similar to the evolution of the mediæval Miracle play, based like *Po-*

(1) To M. Henri Hauvette is due the credit for the suggestion of the explanation of the genesis of *Polyeucte* and *Théodore*. He says that Corneille borrowed little from the Italian dramatist, but shows that their common source is Surius, *Vitæ sanctorum*, that Corneille followed Bartolommei in certain departures from the source in *Polyeucte* and that he chose Antioch rather than Alexandria as the scene of *Théodore*, following the example of Bartolommei. « Un précurseur italien de Corneille, Girolamo Bartolommei, » *Ann. de l'Univ. de Grenoble*, IX (1897), 557-577.

(2) *Epître* (1646) to *Théodore*, M.-L., V, 9.

lyeucte and *Théodore* on the saints' lives. The religious element dominant in the first play now becomes secondary and episodic.

Marty-Laveaux called attention to the *Tragédie de sainte Agnès* by Pierre Troterel, sieur d'Aves, published at Rouen in 1615, and adds, « peut-être y a-t-il [Corneille] puisé la malheureuse idée de mettre en scène une vierge chrétienne condamnée à la prostitution »; but concludes that « il n'y a pas pris autre chose » (3). In view of the opinion of M. Hauvette it is not probable that Corneille got from Troterel's play the suggestion for *Théodore*, since it was printed years before and offered no dramatic elements other than those found in Saint Ambrose's life of Saint Agnes, a common source of the two plays. It may be true that, when Corneille had found *Teodora* among Bartolommei's plays, he recalled that Troterel had treated a similar subject, a virgin condemned to prostitution; but Corneille made no use of the play, having Ambrose's Agnes before him in Surius. Credit is again due to M. Hauvette for calling attention to Corneille's use of the Agnes legend (4), but he fails to mention the specific source (Ambrose in Surius) or to point out the dramatist's borrowings.

M. Martinenche suggests a possible Spanish source, Calderón's *Los Dos amantes del cielo*, but the resemblances which he finds may be traced to the life of Saint Agnes, which the French critic overlooked (5).

Corneille had already used in writing *Polyeucte* the *Vitæ sanctorum* compiled by Surius and enlarged by Mosander (6). In this collection there are two accounts of Theodora and Didymus, one written by Saint Ambrose (7), whom Corneille

(3) M.-L., V, 4.

(4) *Op. cit.*

(5) E. Martinenche, *La Comedia espagnole en France*, Paris, Hachette, 1900, pp. 261-2. The love episode between Théodore and Placide is here incorrectly attributed to influence of Calderón's play, since its source is the Saint Agnes legend.

(6) M.-L., III, 475.

(7) « Martyrium S. Theodoræ virginis a S. Ambrosio scriptum, » libro secundo *De Virginibus*, the text of which is given in M.-L., V, 108-111. Saint Ambrose does not mention Theodora or Didymus by name, but refers to them as *puella* and *frater*.

mentions in the *Epître de Théodore* (8), and the other by Metaphrastes (9). In these two accounts it is related that Theodora was brought to trial as a Christian and that she was sentenced to the brothel for failure to recant. She was subsequently rescued from this place by Didymus (or a *frater*) who exchanged clothes with her, allowing her to escape in the guise of a soldier while he remained clad as a woman. Freed from this peril she appeared in the place of martyrdom where she was joined by Didymus, who again offered help, proposing to give his life for hers. A dispute arose between the two which ended in the death and martyrdom of both.

The life of Saint Agnes used by Corneille was written by Saint Ambrose and is found in Surius (10). In the works of Ambrose it occurs among the *Epistolæ segregatæ*. When Corneille referred to Ambrose he mentioned only *De Virginibus* and commentators have failed to see his indebtedness to the *Epistolæ*. The legend of Saint Agnes furnished the dramatic elements missing in the Theodora account. It tells the story of the Roman prefect's son who fell violently in love with the beauty of the maiden. When he tells her of his love, she spurns him, calling him the vilest of names, and saying that she has another lover far superior to him in wealth and rank. The young man is filled with jealousy and, prostrated on his bed, sends for the doctors :

Audiens insanissimus juvenis, amore carpitur cæco, et inter angustias animi et corporis anhelu cruciabatur spiritu. Inter hæc lecto prosternitur, et per alta suspiria amor a medicis aperitur. *P. L.*, 814-5.

His father, the prefect, comes to his help. He calls Agnes be-

(8) *M.-L.*, V, 9.

(9) « Vita S. virginis Theodoræ et Didymi martyris » ex Simeone Metaphraste, the text of which is given in *M.-L.*, V, 103-108. In this account the names of Theodora and Didymus are found.

(10) « Vita S. Agnetis Virg. et Mart. » per D. Ambrosium episc. Mediolan. scripta, found in Surius, *Historiæ seu vitæ sanctorum juxta optimam coloniensem editionem*, Augustæ Taurinorum, 1875, vol. I, pp. 525 ff. This edition is found in the Library of Congress at Washington. The life of Saint Agnes is under date of January 21. This text is practically the same as that of Migne, *P.L.*, XVII, cols. 814 ff., which I have used in this chapter, since Surius was not as accessible as Migne.

fore him, hoping that she will give up her lover, whose identity he asks her in vain to reveal, when friends of the prefect tell him that the lover of the maiden is Christ. He is overjoyed at learning that she is a Christian, for he can use, to further the interests of his son, the several means of torture devised against Christians to make them recant. He first suggests prostitution, approved by the Emperor, but finding that mere threats will not weaken the maiden's fortitude, he orders her to be thrown into a brothel. This done, the prefect's son goes to the place and, entering, tries to do the maiden violence, for his love is depicted by Saint Ambrose as of the basest kind. Agnes, however, is miraculously saved, for, when the man tries to touch her, he is stricken dead by an angel. When the prefect enters and finds his son dead, he implores Agnes to bring him back to life, and at her prayers he is restored and accepts Christianity. In gratitude the prefect would like to save Agnes from the martyr's death, but, fearing the edict of the Emperor, departs in sadness, leaving the matter in the hands of his *vicarius* Aspasius, who subsequently puts her to death with his own hand.

The legends of Theodora and Didymus furnished little more than the names of these characters, the manner of rescue of the maiden from the brothel, and the episodic contest for the martyr's crown. On the other hand, the Agnes legend gave Corneille the theme of the rejected lover and the prototypes of Placide and his father Valens, and suggested Flavie and Cléobule, the relative of Théodore. In this account Saint Ambrose depicts licentious love, a subject which Corneille had not treated in his tragedies, but which is found in *Clitandre*, where Pymante tries to do violence to Dorise, who has spurned his love, and in consequence suffers the loss of an eye at the hands of the young woman. The prefect's son resembles Pymante closely, suffering death when he tries to do violence to Agnes. After *Clitandre* Corneille abandoned this type, depicting heroes of a nobler sort, thus aiding in purifying the theatre, a general tendency of his generation of dramatists. Although he knew that the public taste had changed, he apparently thought that no objection would be made to suggestions

of licentious love, for in the play *Théodore* suspects Placide and Didyme of improper intentions and Placide accuses Didyme, Cléobule, and Théodore of improper relations, saying that the last-named is worthy of the place into which she has been thrown. However, Corneille did not allow his characters to be guilty of licentiousness and gave to Placide merely an unreasoning or blind passion, which he defined as those « forts attachements d'amour qui sont cause de son malheur » (11). On the other hand, he did not allow him to catch a vision of the love of a Christian maiden for Christ, for, to the end, Placide attributes Théodore's disdain for him to her supposed preference for Didyme. Repeating the motif of unreasoning and unrequited love, Corneille invented Flavie, who resembles more closely the prefect's son of the Agnes legend than does Placide in that her health is threatened, for, to use the words of Saint Ambrose, « lecto prosternitur »; and Placide shows the same disdain for her that Agnes showed for the prefect's son. Again repeating this motif in a modified form, Corneille allows Placide to believe to the end of the play that the cause of Théodore's disdain for him is her love for Didyme. Hence, by use of a motif from his source, he arranged the relationships of his characters as follows: Flavie loves Placide, who loves Théodore, who loves Christ, for whom she has given up Didyme (II, 2 ; 390-2). Corneille used this arrangement again in *Pertharite*: Garibalde loves Edüige, who loves Grimoald, who loves Rodelinde, who loves Pertharite; and this play gave Racine suggestions for his *Andromaque*, in which Oreste loves Hermione, who loves Pyrrhus, who loves Andromaque, who is faithful to the memory of Hector. However, when Voltaire pointed out the resemblance of Racine's play to the second act of *Pertharite*, he overlooked the ultimate source in *Théodore*. Racine knew both plays of Corneille and in depicting Pyrrhus he made him more like Placide than Grimoald; for the words of the former (Placide) express better than any of the latter the situation of the hero of *Andromaque*:

Je hais qui m'idolâtre, et j'aime qui me fuit,
Et je poursuis en vain, ainsi qu'on me poursuit.

Théod., I, 1; 85-6.

(11) *Examen de Théodore*, M.-L., IV, 13.

and Grimoald's disdain for Edüige is not intense, since in the end he marries her (12).

Corneille supposes that Flavie is not only prostrated, as was the prefect's son, but is actually dying of unrequited love. Hence, she does not appear on the stage and her interests are left to her mother, a further suggestion from the Agnes legend, where the prefect represents his son. Marcelle, like the prefect, causes the edict of prostitution to be carried into effect in the interests of her child and, like him, is actuated by motives of vengeance. Hence, the suggestion for Marcelle can be traced to the Agnes legend. That Corneille should have chosen a woman to play this rôle may be due to his previous dramatic experience in depicting Médée and Cléopâtre (*Rodogune*), to both of whom her characterization owes much. Like Médée she has bestowed favors on the man who now disdains her, and like Cléopâtre she plans the death of the woman who stands in the way of the fulfillment of her ambitions, and, when these are thwarted, she does not hesitate to take her own life. Now Marcelle might have played her rôle of slayer of her daughter's rival without being related to Valens and his son Placide, but Corneille preferred to join them by family ties, making of her the second wife of Valens and the stepmother of Placide. His decision seems to have been uninfluenced by literary or historical sources, but is in accordance with Aristotle's opinion as to the use of natural ties in tragedy (13) and with his own usage (*Médée*, *Le Cid*, *Horace*, *Polyeucte*, *Rodogune*) (14).

(12) When M. Gustave Rudler discusses the sources of *Andromaque* he does not mention Corneille's *Théodore*, which, so far as I know, has not been suggested by anyone in this connection. See « Une Source d'*Andromaque*, » *MLR*, XII (1917), 286-301 and 438-449. The rôle of Pyrrhus in respect to his fiancée resembles that of Placide in regard to Flavie and this, added to the fact that one of the sources of *Andromaque*, namely *Pertharite*, owes much to *Théodore*, would lead one to suspect that the last-named play may have furnished suggestions for Racine's tragedy.

(13) *Poetics*, chap. 14.

(14) M. M. Blum would see Aristotelian influence in Corneille's choice of subjects in which there is a conflict among those closely related. This cannot be proved, since the plays from *Médée* to *Pertharite* were suggested by the contemporary theatre or by the dramatist's previous experience, and the sources give abundant suggestions for the close relationship of personages. See « Un Lien entre les sujets de Corneille », *R.H.L.*, XXVIII (1921), 522-527.

He gave Marcelle authority over her husband, who, in consequence, resembles the prefect of the Agnes legend in his fear of the Emperor and lack of the courage of his convictions. Marcelle is also like Cléopâtre (*Rodogune*) in her love of power. To increase her influence, Corneille supposes that she has a brother Marcellin at Rome who enjoys the favor of the Emperor and whom Valens in consequence fears. In *Polyeucte* likewise the ruler Félix fears Sévère, in favor at Rome. In order to place Placide under obligations to Marcelle, she is supposed to have made him ruler of Egypt, thus bringing about a close relationship between the houses of Syria and Egypt, as in *Rodogune*. Cléobule is a relative of Théodore and is asked to intercede with her in behalf of Placide, a request similar to that made to the relative of Agnes.

The opening scene, in which Placide requests his friend Cléobule to intercede in his behalf with Théodore, is suggested by the Agnes legend :

per amicos... [filius præfecti] cœpit aures virginis appellare (15).

That Cléobule, whose help he implores, should be a relative of the heroine comes from the same source, where Sempronius speaks to the relatives of Agnes for the same purpose :

parentes ejus [Agnæ] alloquitur (16).

The despair and utter helplessness with which Placide beseeches Cléobule reflect the frame of mind of the prefect's son. Compare verses 85-90 and 125 with :

Audiens insanissimus juvenis, amore carpitur cæco, et inter angustias animi et corporis anhelo cruciabatur spiritu (17).

His chagrin that Théodore should prefer another to one with the rank of the governor's son (vs. 91-4) is suggested by a similar thought of Sempronius :

Cumque pater diceret in fascibus se constitutum præturam agere, et idcirco quemvis etiam illustrem virum minime sibi debere præferri (18).

(15) Ambrose, *Ag.*, P. L., XVII, 813. (The account of Saint Agnes written by Ambrose and found in Surius and Migne.)

(16) *Ibid.*, 815.

(17) *Ibid.*, 814-15.

(18) *Ibid.*, 815.

His offer to take her to Egypt with him, and, by inference, to share the throne with her (113-16), is like that of the son of Sempronius who is ready to give all he possesses for the love of Agnes :

Cœpit [filius præfecti]... divitias, domos, possessiones, familias atque omnes hujus mundi delicias repromittere, si consensum suum ejus conjugio non negasset (19).

His attitude toward Marcelle, who wishes him to marry Flavie, is as unbending as that of Agnes toward Sempronius, who wishes her to marry his son. Marcelle, like Sempronius, alternates blandishments with menaces :

PLACIDE.

Elle tonne, foudroie, et pleine de
fureur,
Menace de tout perdre auprès de
l'Empereur.

Et primo quidem blandis eam
[Agnem]. sermonibus secretius pro-
vocat [Sempronius], deinde terroribus
pulsat (20).

Souvent elle me flatte.

Théod., I, 1; 65-6, 75.

Corneille supposes that Placide is under obligations to Marcelle for his elevation as ruler of Egypt, and hence his relationship to her is somewhat similar to that of Jason to Médée. Furthermore, in abandoning her daughter, whom he has promised to marry, he refuses to be moved by claims of gratitude and mocks at her wrath, taking the attitude of Jason toward Médée, who says that the latter will act as did Hypsipyle :

PLACIDE.

Elle [Marcelle] tonne, foudroie, et
pleine de fureur,
Menace de tout perdre auprès de
l'Empereur.
Comme de ses faveurs, je ris de sa
colère :
Quoi qu'elle ait fait pour moi, quoi
qu'elle puisse faire,
Le passé sur mon cœur ne peut rien
obtenir.

JASON.

Et que fit Hypsipyle,
Que pousser les éclats d'un courroux
inutile ?

Dit que j'étois sans foi, sans cœur,
sans conscience,
Et lasse de le dire, elle prit patience.
Médée, I, 1 ; 9-10, 13-14.

Théod., I, 1 : 65-9.

(19) *Ibid.*, 813-14.

(20) *Ibid.*, 815.

That Placide is unwilling to give up Théodore, whom he loves, and marry another, whom he does not love, in order to gain a throne,

On perd temps toutefois, ce cœur n'est point à vendre,
(vs. 19),

is a motif of *Rodogune*; for both Séleucus and Antiochus prefer Rodogune to the throne of Syria. There is an instance in Justin of a queen mother who gave the throne of Egypt to one of her sons on condition that he « divorce his sister Cleopatra, whom he very much loved, and requiring him to marry his younger sister Selene » (21). This happened during the « unnatural contentions in the kingdom of Syria » (22), which form the historical background of *Rodogune*. Corneille may have drawn on this incident, since both Marcelle and the Egyptian queen mother have at their disposal the throne of Egypt and arrange the marriage of the future ruler with a daughter not of the man's choice. Another detail of this same incident furnished a motif for *Rodogune*: the fact that the queen mother has been given the right to choose the one of her two sons who shall succeed his father. In order to make Marcelle's authority as complete as possible, Corneille supposes that her brother, Marcellin, is in high favor at Rome (vs. 22), and hence Valens fears her all the more. In a similar way Corneille had strengthened Cléopâtre's position by allowing her alone to know the secret of the priority of birth of her two sons, whom he supposed to be twins, contrary to history.

The first scene, therefore, can be sufficiently accounted for through the Saint Agnes legend and the influence of *Rodogune*, a play, like *Théodore*, dealing with Syrian history, and *Médée*, one of the principal sources of *Rodogune*.

The second scene may have been suggested by *Médée*, III, 3. Marcelle and Médée mention the services which they have rendered, bring accusations of ingratitude, and threaten to avenge themselves on Placide and Jason respectively. Marcelle declares that she will slay the woman who stands in her

(21) Justin, *History of the World*, tr. by J. S. Watson, London, Bell, 1902 XXXIX, 3.

(22) *Ibid.*

way, an intention similar to that of Médée, and in I, 3 she reiterates this intention. She now appeals to Valens to make good his promise to bring about the marriage of Placide and Flavie, the latter dying of unrequited love, a suggestion from the Agnes legend, which depicts Placide as prostrated at his rejection by Agnes :

MARCELLE.

Elle (Flavie) tâche à se vaincre, et son cœur y succombe ;	Lecto prosternitur [filius præfecti], et per alta suspiria amor a medicis aperitur.
Et l'effort qu'elle y fait la jette sous la tombe.	Amb., <i>Ag.</i> , P. L., XVII, 815.

Théod., I, 4 ; 303-4

When Valens replies that Placide alone is master of his will, Marcelle then demands the death of Théodore, which her husband objects to, but hesitates to refuse, in view of the maiden's violation of the Roman edict forbidding the espousal of Christianity. Valens, therefore, gives Marcelle permission to act in his place, following a suggestion from the Agnes legend in which Sempronius hands over Agnes to his *vicarius*, Aspasius.

The second act sets forth the intercession of Cléobule in behalf of Placide, the interrogation of the Christian maiden and her condemnation to the brothel, all of which is based on the sources. Théodore affirms the impossibility of returning the love of Placide (II, 2), although she does not name her reason (her love for Christ). Furthermore, she would prefer Didyme, were she to choose a husband, an invention of Corneille serving to bring about symmetry of relationships,

Didyme, que sur tous je tâche d'éloigner,
Et qui verroit bientôt sa flamme couronnée
Si mon âme à mes sens étoit abandonnée (II, 2 ; 390-2).

She says that Placide's love is the cause of her undoing,

Si je suis en péril, Placide en est l'auteur (vs. 422),

a similar accusation to that brought by Saint Ambrose against the son of the prefect, when Agnes was thrown into the brothel,

praefecti filius qui auctor erat hujus sceleris (23),

(23) Amb., *Ag.*, P. L., XVII, 817.

and she proposes that Placide save her by sacrificing his love for her and returning to Flavie (II, 2; 432-4), generosity of which the young man is not capable, but which Sévère displayed in a somewhat similar situation (*Polyeucte*, IV, 5).

Armed with authority from her husband, Marcelle extorts from Théodore the confession that she is a Christian (II, 4; 565). This she does by asking Théodore to enter the temple of the heathen gods and to call them to witness her assertion that she does not love Placide. In a similar way Sempronius, who had questioned Agnes, had ordered her to enter the temple of Vesta,

Unde te ad venerabilem deam Vestam properare necesse est (24).

Théodore alludes to the fact that she is of noble birth, a distinction enjoyed by both Theodora and Agnes :

THÉODORE.

... rois dont je suis descendue.
Théod., II, 4; 504.

[Theodora] nobilissima est.
Sur., Th., M.-L., V, 103 (25).
Et quia erant nobiles [parentes Agnæ].
Amb., Ag., P. L., XVII, 815.

When threatened with death because of her faith, Théodore characteristically replies that

La mort n'a que douceur pour une âme chrétienne.
(II, 4; 587.)

Valens enters and Marcelle asserts that Théodore is a Christian, an accusation similar to that made before Sempronius in regard to Agnes :

MARCELLE.

Seigneur, elle [Théodore] est chrétienne.
Théod. II, 5; 593.

Tunc exstitit quidam... qui diceret
hanc [Agnem] christianam esse...
Amb., Ag., P. L., XVII, 815.

One of the accusations brought against Agnes was the use of the black arts, and Valens considers this the source of the calam-

(24) *Amb., Ag., P. L.*, XVII, 815.

(25) The account of Saints Theodora and Didymus found in Surius and reproduced by Marty-Laveaux, V, 103-108.

ity of his family as manifested in the mad passion of Placide and the fatal sickness of Flavie (II, 5, 599-607) :

Cette noire magie, ordinaire aux chrétiens (vs. 601).

Sempronius, likewise, seems to trace to the same source the cause of the obstinacy of Agnes in refusing his son, for he addresses her thus :

Superstitio Christianorum, de quorum te magicis artibus jactas,
Amb., Ag., P. L., XVII, 815,

and later adds,

Et longe erunt a te Christiani, qui te ita magicis artibus imbuerunt,
Ibid., 816.

When accused of the crime of being a Christian, Théodore replies that punishment for this will be welcome, as did Theodora to the judge Eustratius :

THÉODORE.

Craindrois-je des tourments qui font
ma récompense ?

Théod., II, 5 ; 616.

Quam enim injuriam mihi fore
putas, ea res honorem et gloriam
sempiternam mihi comparabit.

Sur., Th., M.-L., V, 105.

However, Valens asserts that he knows a form of punishment which will cause her to yield, referring as did Sempronius, to prostitution :

VALENS.

Oui, j'en [des tourments] sais que
peut-être aisément vous craindrez.

Théod., II, 5 ; 617.

Et longe erunt a te Christiani ... ut
hanc calamitatem [i. e. the threat of
prostitution] intrepido animo te posse
perferre confidas.

Amb., Ag., P. L., XVII, 816.

Thereupon Valens sends Théodore to prison, where she will learn what punishment is meant and there make her decision. Likewise the judge sends Theodora to prison, where she is to decide between recanting and prostitution :

VALENS.

Vous en recevrez l'ordre, et vous en
résoudrez.

Théod., II, 5 ; 618.

Adhuc trium dierum tempus tibi
condono, ac per Deos omnes, nisi
animum mutes et sacrifices, in lupanar
te tradam,

Sur., Th., M.-L., V, 105.

On the departure of Théodore, Valens tells his wife his plans:

Non, je la veux punir, mais par l'ignominie

(II, 6; 652),

since this will render her unworthy of Placide (Corneille's invention); but in the following scene (II, 7) he says to Paulin that he hopes to bring Théodore to his will through this threat, a motive similar to that of Sempronius, whose main object in threatening Agnes was to prevail upon her to accept his son.

Act III follows the sources in depicting Théodore's belief that God will consider her pure, even if her body be defiled by the pagans, and her belief that He will in some way protect her; her alarm on seeing Placide, whose intentions she fears, and the latter's offer to put at her service all he possesses. It departs from the source (Agnes legend) in that Placide has no evil intentions in approaching Théodore (for the son of Sempronius was a libertine), that he seeks to protect her from ignominy, and that he considers an offense against her honor an offense against his own.

Paulin tells Théodore (III, 1) that she must either enter the Roman temple or suffer the consequences, which, since Christian women do not fear death, means the sacrifice of her virtue:

PAULIN.

Et par un châtement aussi grand que
nouveau,
De votre vertu même ils font votre
bourreau.

Théod., III, 1; 729-30.

Imperatores jusserunt vos quæ vir-
ginitatem semper servatis, aut Diis
immolare aut injuriosius tractari.

Sur., *Th.*, M.-L., V, 103-4.

However, Théodore asserts her right of rank, being of noble birth:

THÉODORE.

Mais s'il [Valens] hait les chrétiens,
il respecte ma race.

Théod., III, 1; 744.

Et quia erant [parentes Agnæ] no-
biles, et vim eis inferre non poterat...

Amb., *Ag.*, P. L., XVII, 815.

When told that the gods dishonor those who fail to show them honor, Théodore calls attention to the inconsistency of sacrificing a maiden's virtue to gods who are themselves guilty of incest and adultery. A similar accusation against the heathen

gods was made by Polyeucte and Néarque, in a passage which has a parallel in the life of Saint Patroclus (26).

THÉODORE.

A ces Dieux dont enfin la plus sainte
action
N'est qu'inceste, adultère et prostitu-
tion.

Theod., III, 1 ; 753-4.

La prostitution, l'adultère, l'inceste,
Le vol, l'assassinat, et tout ce qu'on
déteste,
C'est l'exemple qu'à suivre offrent vos
immortels.

Poly., V, 3 ; 1667-9.

Théodore is given time for reflection :

PAULIN.

On vous donne de grâce une heure
à vous résoudre.

Theod., III, 1 ; 764.

Adhuc trium dierum tempus tibi
condono, ac per Deos omnes, nisi
animum mutes et sacrifices, in lupanar
te tradam.

Sur., Th., M.-L., V, 105 ;

and refuses to make a choice between idolatry and the sacrifice of her virtue, since she would sin against God in either case. She believes, moreover, that God will judge the intentions and will not hold her guilty of an action forced upon her, a thought based on the source :

THÉODORE.

Dieu...
N'impute point de crime aux actions
forcées.

Theod., III, 1 ; 775-6.

THEODORA.

Quod si me id pati quod dicis et
violari coegeris, non erit hæc impudi-
citia, sed vis et injuria.

Sur., Th., M.-L., V, 104.

For God, she says, reads one's thoughts :

THÉODORE.

Dieu, tout juste et tout bon, qui lit
dans nos pensées.

Theod., III, 1 ; 775.

Cum enim omnia ille pernoscat,
cogitata etiam nostra scit, et mentes
ipsas perspicit.

Sur., Th., M.-L., V, 104.

Moreover, she asserts her belief that she will be able to preserve her soul pure, no matter what her enemies may do with her body :

(26) For the citation, see the chapter above on *Polyeucte*, parallel to *Poly.*, III, 2 ; 835-9.

THÉODORE.

THEODORA.

Je saurai conserver d'une âme résolue
A l'époux sans macule une épouse
impollue.

Théod., III, 1; 779-80.

Parata sum corpus meum, cujus
potestatem habes, tibi tradere; anima
vero ipsa in solius Dei manu est ac
potestate.

Sur., *Th.*, M.-L., V, 104.

Left alone with Placide (III, 3), Théodore fears that he has come with intentions similar to those of the prefect's son, who entered the brothel to do violence to Agnes; but she is soon convinced that her fears are unfounded. The rest of the scene is based on the first interview between Agnes and the son of Sempronius. The former expressed the utmost contempt for the latter, calling him the vilest of names :

Discede a me, fomes peccati, nutrimentum facinoris, pabulum mortis (27).

Théodore, however, expresses esteem for Placide, but tells him that her distress cannot make her more favorable to his suit and his offer of rescue by taking her to Egypt with him (Cornille's invention), since she has plighted her troth to another :

THÉODORE.

AGNES.

Un obstacle éternel à vos desirs s'op-
pose.

Chrétienne, et sous les lois d'un plus
puissant époux ... (28)

Théod., III, 3; 868-9.

Discede a me; quia jam ab alio
amatore præventa sum.

Amb., *Ag.*, P. L., XVII, 814.

At the mention of a rival, the jealousy of Placide is aroused as was that of the prefect's son :

THÉODORE.

Mais, Seigneur, à ce mot ne soyez pas
jaloux.

Théod., III, 3; 870.

Audiensinsanissimus juvenis, amore
carpitur cæco, et inter angustias animi
et corporis anhelu cruciabatur spiritu.

Amb., *Ag.*, P. L., XVII, 814-15.

Agnes does not reveal the identity of her lover, and the son of Sempronius is kept in suspense for some time. On the other hand, although Théodore hastens to explain,

C'est le Dieu des chrétiens, c'est le maître des rois,

(vs. 873),

(27) *Amb.*, *Ag.*, P. L., XVII, 814.

(28) *Epoux*, lover. Cf. *Rodogune*, 1154, and note that the source (*Ambrose*) has *amatore*.

yet Placide throughout the plays fails to catch the vision of the maiden's devotion to her heavenly Spouse, persisting to the end in the belief that Didyme is his (Placide's) rival. With more consideration for her suitor than that displayed by Agnes, who indulged in the most insulting comparisons between her lovers, their rank, and the respective offers of precious stones and other adornments, Théodore merely calls attention to the fact that Placide's rank cannot appeal to her, since that of her other lover is greater :

THÉODORE.

AGNES.

Quelque haute splendeur que vous
teniez de Rome,
Il est plus grand que vous ;

Longe te nobilior et genere et
dignitate.

Amb., Ag., P. L., XVII, 814.

Théod., III, 3 ; 871-2.

Furthermore, she adds that her virginity is consecrated to Christ :

THÉODORE.

THEODORA.

Et c'est enfin à lui que mes vœux ont
donnée.

Illi [Deo] enim virginitas mea dicata
est.

Cette virginité que l'on a condam-
née.

Sur., Th., M.-L., V, 104.

Théod., III, 3 ; 875-6.

A means of escape, therefore, from the impending disgrace would be through death, as she suggests, at the hands of Placide, a request similar to that of Sophonisbe, who asked Massinisse for poison that she might escape participation in a Roman triumph, or of Sabine (*Horace*), who asked her husband to put her to death (29). Placide refuses, saying that he had rather die himself, and repeats his offer of marriage as a means of protection from infamy (III, 3 ; 944-5). As did Theodora when threatened with ignominy by her judge, so the young woman of the play repeats her faith in the protection of Christ (vs. 946-950) :

Fidem, inquit Theodora, et spem habeo in Christo,... fore ut me ab iniquis istis viris eripiat.

Sur., Th., M.-L., V, 104.

(29) Mairet's *Sophonisbe*, V, 3 ; and *Horace*, IV, 7.

In scenes 4, 5, and 6 of act III, Corneille departs from his sources. Placide implores Marcelle to save Théodore from disgrace, which she promises to do on condition that he will show himself less harsh toward Flavie. Although Placide agrees to do so, Marcelle feels convinced that he will not return her daughter's love, resolves on the immediate disgrace of the woman she hates, and tells Stéphanie to retain Placide in the palace while she sees to the carrying out of the Roman edict.

Act IV deals with the casting of Théodore into the brothel and her escape therefrom disguised as a man through the help of Didyme. The episode in which the latter figures is from the Theodora legend, Agnes having been rescued through the help of an angel. Scenes 1, 2, and part of 3 are Corneille's invention, but the rest of the act follows the sources rather closely.

In this act Corneille violates the law of verisimilitude in allowing Placide to remain in the palace, trusting to the good will of Marcelle to save Théodore and listening to the recital of her departure from the prison and her entrance into the brothel. One would expect that he would rush forth to the assistance of Théodore as soon as he hears that Marcelle has taken her from the prison (IV, 3 ; 1220). In like manner Old Horace remained at home during the combat of his sons against the Curiaces (*Horace*), according to the source (Dionysius) Old Horace could not have rendered assistance, but this excuse cannot be offered for Placide, seeing that he later gathered together his friends in an effort to rescue Théodore from death (act V). In both cases, however, the dramatist was primarily interested in the psychological reaction of the persons chiefly concerned, and since he could not stage the brothel scene, as did Troterel, he was forced to allow Placide to remain in the palace. The descriptions of the unbridled passions of the libertines and suspicions of violence toward the maiden are what constituted the objections to the play.

In scenes 1 and 2, Placide is led to believe that Marcelle has intervened in behalf of Théodore and that the latter is to be banished (Corneille's invention). Paulin enters (IV, 3) and reveals the fact that Marcelle, acting on an order from Valens,

has taken Théodore from prison, and Placide, instead of going to her assistance, reflects on his overconfidence in his treacherous stepmother and asks for details. Paulin tells of the trip to the brothel, whither he was forced to conduct the maiden, and adds :

De honte et de dépit j'en détournois les yeux
(IV, 3 ; 1238).

Corneille thus suggests the fact, which Ambrose relates, that the maiden was ordered to pass through the streets unclothed :

Insanus iudex jussit eam [Agnem] exspoliari, et nudam ad lupanar duci.
Amb., *Ag.*, P. L., XVII, 816.

Agnes, however, was protected from view by her hair, which fell over her whole body (30). When Théodore is cast into the brothel, the libertines fight as « tigres » for their prey, as in the sources, where they are compared to wolves, dogs, and hawks (31) :

PAULIN.

Tous courent à la proie avec avidité.
Théod., IV, 3 ; 1249.

Turbæ autem illæ eam [Theodoram],
ut lupi agnam, circumdantes, certatim
studebant... et ut canes in feram ali-
quam, et accipitres in columbam.
Sur., *Th.*, M.-L., V, 106.

Paulin now tells how Didyme, dressed in military garb and pretending to be one of the libertines, succeeded in entering the brothel first. The passage (IV, 3 ; 1254-1267) is based on the Theodora legend :

Cum enim militari habitu se induisset [Didymus], primus ad eam ingressus
est, quasi unus ex impudentium et intemperantium hominum numero esset.
Sur., *Th.*, M.-L., V, 106.

His object is to save Théodore, as in the source, but neither Paulin nor Placide is aware of this fact, and the latter thinks that Didyme is in love with Théodore and has offered her violence. Hence his threat of vengeance (IV, 3 ; 1268-71). This mis-

(30) Amb., *Ag.*, P. L., XVII, 816.

(31) In addition to the citation from Surius, see St. Ambrose's account of Theodora, M.-L., V, 109, lines 39-40.

understanding is, of course, not based on the source, but is somewhat similar to that of Chimène (*Le Cid*, V, 5) and to that of Old Horace in regard to the flight of his son (*Horace* IV, 6). Paulin now describes the departure from the brothel of one whom he mistakes for Didyme. He says that the latter tried to hide his face and showed signs of remorse for his crime. The passage describing the exit from the brothel is based on the instructions of Didymus to Theodora when he gave her his clothes and told her how to act when leaving :

PAULIN.

Ses cheveux sur son front s'efforçoient
de cacher
La rougeur que son crime y sembloit
attacher,
Et le remords de sorte abattoit son
courage,
Que même il n'osoit plus nous mon-
trer son visage.

Théod., IV, 3; 1277-80.

Sume pileum quod tegat crines,
abscondat ora. Solent erubescere qui
lupanar intraverint. Sane cum egressa
fueris, ne respicias retro.

Amb., *De V.*, M.-L., V, 110 (32).

Admonita etiam fuit ne quem ad-
spiceret, propter eorum luporum impu-
dentiam atque audaciam, neve ali-
quem alloqueretur; sed recta ad por-
tam tenderet.

Sur., *Th.*, M.-L., V, 107.

When the libertines think that Didyme has departed, they fight for entrance :

A peine il est sorti que la fière inso-
lence
Du soldat mutiné reprend sa violence.

Théod., IV, 3; 1283-4.

At illi... ceu raptores ad agnam
lupi, fremere ad prædam.

Amb., *De V.*, II; M.-L., V, 111.

Another enters, « Unus qui erat immodestior, introivit » (33). In the play Cléobule enters after the departure of the one supposed to be Didyme, and, when Placide hears of this, his suspicions are aroused and he accuses his friend (Cléobule) of base motives :

Dis, dis qu'il est entré pour la déshonorer
(IV, 3; 1294).

Although Placide does not share with his prototype, the son of Sempronius, the tendency toward licentiousness, yet he sus-

(32) The account of Theodora and Didymus written by Ambrose in his *De Virginibus* and reproduced by Marty-Laveaux, V, 108-111.

(33) Amb., *De V.*, M.-L., V, 111.

pects it in others, and never catches the vision of unselfish love. However, the dramatist did well to depict him a product of his surroundings — his gods guilty of incest and adultery, his father morally weak, and his stepmother guilty of the basest crimes against womanhood.

Cléobule enters (IV, 4) and tells how Théodore, disguised as Didyme, has escaped from the brothel :

CLÉOBULE.

Sous l'habit de Didyme elle-même est
sortie.

Théod., IV, 4; 1332.

*Illa igitur virgo militis habitum
sumpsit,... egressa est.*

Sur., *Th.*, M.-L., V, 107,

and that Didyme, in her garb, remained in the brothel :

... et cet audacieux
Sous le sien, au lieu d'elle, est resté
dans ces lieux.

Théod., IV, 4; 1333-4.

*Frater vero ille sedebat,... cumque
se capitis tegumento induisset, eo in
loco sedebat.*

Sur., *Th.*, M. L., V, 107.

On hearing this news Placide now suspects Théodore of duplicity, and says that she has bestowed her favors on Didyme :

Par tant de feints mépris elle qui t'abusoit
Lui conservoit ce cœur qu'elle me refusoit

(IV, 3; 1345-6).

His jealousy is similar to that of the son of the prefect, as has been noted before.

Didyme now enters, and before he can offer an explanation, is accused of playing Placide false. Nor does the latter spare Théodore, whom he considers worthy of the brothel :

Dans ces lieux dignes d'elle elle a reçu ta foi,
Et pris l'occasion de se donner à toi ?

Théod., IV, 5; 1377-8.

False judgments based on circumstantial evidence are fairly common in Corneille's plays. Chimène falsely accuses Don Sanche (*Le Cid*, V, 5); Old Horace, his son (*Horace*, III, 6). Placide bursts into invectives against Cléobule (IV, 5) just as did Chimène, neither allowing the accused to defend himself until he has given vent to his wrath. The account of the manner in which Didyme saved Théodore (IV, 5; 1419-52) is for the most part based on *Sur.*, *Th.* (M.-L., V, 106, line 16 to 107, line 9).

Didyme says that when he entered, Théodore was terrified, mistaking him for one of the libertines :

DIDYME.

La Princesse, à ma vue également
atteinte
D'étonnement, d'horreur, de colère et
de crainte.

Théod., IV, 5; 1419-20.

Ejus igitur hominis novam et peregrinam figuram sancta illa virgo Theodora cum vidisset, fuit perterrita.

Sur., *Th.*, M.-L., V, 106.

He adds that, when he met Théodore, he must have frightened her, since he still bore the appearance of a libertine, which he had assumed on entering :

DIDYMUS.

Aussi j'avois l'audace encor sur le
visage
Qui parmi ces mutins m'avoit donné
passage.

Théod., IV, 5; 1423-4.

[Didymus] ingressus est, quasi unus ex impudentium et intemperantium hominum numero esset.

Sur., *Th.*, M.-L., V, 106.

To allay her fears, he tells the maiden that he has not come to avenge himself for rejected love. In the source, he was not in love with her, but in the play Théodore suspects evil intentions in him at this moment, as Agnes did in the son of the prefect :

DIDYME.

Je ne viens point ici comme amant
indigné
Me venger de l'objet dont je fus
dédaigné.

Théod., IV, 6; 1433-4.

Præfecti filius qui auctor erat hujus sceleris [*i. e.* of throwing Agnes into the brothel], venit ad locum cum sodalibus suis juvenculis, quasi insultaturus puellæ, cum quibus libidinis suæ se posse credebatur ludibrium exercere.

Amb., *Ag.*, P. L., XVII, 817.

He has come to save her in the name of the Lord and to die for her if necessary :

DIDYME.

Une plus sainte ardeur règne au cœur
de Didyme :
Il vient de votre honneur se faire la
victime,
Le payer de son sang.

Théod., IV, 5; 1435-7.

DIDYMUS.

Frater enim sum in aliena figura,
contra diabolum sapiens, eorum qui-
dem veste indutus qui sunt illius
ministri : ut ita huc ingrediens....
Domini mei pretiosam possessionem....
servare possem.

Sur., *Th.*, M.-L., V, 106.

FRATER.

Quasi adulter ingressus, si vis mar-
tyr egrediar.

Amb., *De V.*, II, M.-L., V, 110.

Didyme now proposes that Théodore exchange garments with him and flee, leaving him in her place :

DIDYME.

Fuyez sous mon habit, et me laissez,
de grâce,
Sous le vôtre en ces lieux occuper
votre place.

Théod., IV, 5; 1439-40.

DIDYMUS.

Sed age, vestem mutemus :... Exi
tu,... ego... huc remanebo.

Sur., *Th.*, M.-L., V, 106.

FRATER.

Vestimenta mutemus.

Amb., *De V.*, II, M.-L., V, 110.

He adds that he will thereby become a real soldier (of Christ) and she will remain a virgin :

DIDYME.

Conservez une vierge en faisant un
martyr.

Théod., IV, 5; 1442.

FRATER.

Tua vestis me verum militem faciet,
mea te virginem (34).

Amb., *De V.*, M.-L., V, 110.

Sume habitum qui abscondat fœ-
minam : trade qui consecret martyrem.
Ibid.

Corneille supposes that Théodore refuses at first to allow Didyme to make the sacrifice, preferring that he take her life so that her blood rather than his may be shed in preserving her chastity. This is the second time that she has asked to be killed, the first request, as has been noted, being made to Placide (*Théod.*, III, 3; 890), and both instances recalling the situation of Sophonisbe (Mairet's *Sophonisbe*) and of Sabine (*Horace*).

(34) Marty-Laveaux calls attention to this parallel, M.-L., V, 80, n. 3.

Placide then asks whether it was through feigning that Théodore had hung her head in shame on leaving the brothel :

PLACIDE.

FRATER [instructing Theodora].

C'étoit donc à dessein qu'elle cachoit
ses yeux,
Comme rouge de honte, en sortant
de ces lieux ?

Sume pileum quod tegat crines,
abscondat ora. Solent erubescere qui
lupanar intraverint.

Amb., *De V.*, M.-L., V, 110.

Théod., IV, 5; 1453-4.

Didyme answers that he had instructed her to act thus :

En lui disant adieu, je l'en avois
instruite.

Admonita [Theodora] etiam fuit.
Sur., *Th.*, M.-L., V, 107.

Théod., IV, 5; 1455.

Théodore then makes her escape :

Et le ciel a daigné favoriser sa fuite.
Théod., IV, 5; 1456.

[Theodora] egressa... evasit.
Sur., *Th.*, M.-L., V, 107.

Placide now thanks Didyme for the service which he has rendered him in saving his honor (Corneille's invention, vs. 1485), but he persists in misunderstanding the latter's motives, for he looks upon him as a rival favored by Théodore.

In the fifth act Corneille followed his sources in telling of the trial of Didyme for interference with the course of Roman justice and in allowing him and Théodore, after her escape unharmed from the brothel, to dispute the right to the martyr's crown, the former wishing to die in her place. He departs from the sources in supposing that Didyme, like Polyeucte, is tempted to recant for the sake of the woman he loves, and that the death of Théodore and Didyme is caused by Marcelle's desire for vengeance and not by their adherence to Christianity as in the case of Polyeucte. The dénouement is influenced by that of *Rodogune*, Marcelle, like Cléopâtre, taking her life when thwarted in her ambitions.

Valens is pictured as desirous to save Théodore from death, but will not do so for fear of the consequences to himself of disobedience to the Emperor's edict, resembling Sempronius who wished to save Agnes. Compare V, 1; 1491-1510 with :

Præfectus [Sempronius] autem videns tanta mirabilia [i. e. the restoration of his son to life at the prayers of Agnes], obstupuit: sed veritus proscrip-

tionem, si contra templorum pontifices ageret, et Agnem contra suas sententias defensaret, vicarium suum ad seditionem populi iudicem dereliquit, ipse autem tristis abscessit.

Amb., *Ag.*, P. L., XVII, 818.

As for Didyme, Valens is ready to put him to death, if for no other reason, for his interference with the course of justice :

Valens saura punir son illustre attentat

(V, 1; 1501).

Likewise Eustrathius was angered at Didymus for the same offense, and calling him before him confronted him thus :

« Et quisnam tibi suggessit ut istud (*i. e.* the rescue of Theodora from the brothel] faceres ac me contemneres ? »

Sur., *Th.*, M.-L., V, 107.

Contrary to the source, Valens will allow Didyme to escape in case he recant, which is preparation for his temptation in scene 3.

Cléobule now tries to save Didyme, intent on dying a martyr (V, 3), pretending that Théodore is in love with him and ready to reward him for his services to her. The temptation of earthly love is not in the source, but is a motif of *Polyeucte*, the hero of which is tried in a similar way. Failing in this, Cléobule suggests dissembling :

Donne à ton Dieu ton cœur, aux nôtres quelque feinte.
Un peu d'encens offert aux pieds de leurs autels
Peut égaler ton sort au sort des immortels.

Théod., V, 3; 1568-70.

The proposal to accept Théodore's love and Placide's offer to take Didyme to Egypt and there give Théodore to him are all rejected by Didyme as temptations of the Evil One :

Va dangereux ami que l'enfer me suscite,
Ton damnable artifice en vain me sollicite.

Théod., V, 3; 1579-80.

Just as Polyeucte feared the tears of Pauline more than he executioner, so Didyme fears the love of Théodore more than steel or fire :

DIDYME.

Mon cœur, inébranlable aux plus
cruels tourments,
A presque été surpris de tes chatouil-
lements ;
Leur mollesse a plus fait que le fer
ni la flamme.

Théod., V, 3 ; 1581-3.

Didyme shows the same generous spirit toward his rival, Placide, as did Polyeucte toward Sévère (*Polyeucte*, IV, 4), desiring Théodore to accept him after his (Didyme's) death :

Qu'elle paye à Placide, et tâche à conserver
Des jours que par les miens je viens de lui sauver.

Théod., V, 3 ; 1597-8.

The contest of Théodore and Didyme for the martyr's crown (V, 4, 5, and part of 6) is based on Ambrose's account of it beginning thus :

Fertur puella ad locum supplicii cucurrisse, certasse ambos de nece (35).

But Théodore is unwilling to accept the offer to die in her place :

THÉODORE.

S'il ne faut que du sang j'ai trop de
quoi payer.

Théod., V, 5 ; 1618.

PUELLA.

Si sanguis exposcitur, fidejussorem
non desidero, habeo unde dissolvam.

Amb., *De V.*, M.-L., V, 111.

She was willing to be rescued from a life of shame, but not from the martyr's death, for she cannot allow another to take her reward in heaven :

THÉODORE.

Rends-moi, rends-moi ma place assez
et trop gardée.
Pour me sauver l'honneur je te l'avois
cédée.

Théod., V, 5 ; 1619-20.

PUELLA.

Ego opprobrium declinavi, non mar-
tyrium tibi cessi.

Amb., *De V.*, M.-L., V, 111.

The martyr's crown which she wishes to win is mentioned in the source :

THÉODORE.

Je ne souffrirai point, quoi que Valens
ordonne,
Qu'en me rendant ma gloire on m'ôte
ma couronne.

Théod., V, 5 ; 1635-6.

Venit coronæ dies.

Amb., *De V.*, M.-L., V, 109.

Nec divisa est corona.

Ibid., 111.

(35) Amb., *De V.*, M.-L., V, 3.

Théodore says that God will protect from shame, but not from death, citing in confirmation Agnes, who was saved by an angel from the brothel, but subsequently allowed to die :

THÉODORE.

De cette même honte il sauve Agnès
dans Rome.

Il daigne s'y servir d'un ange au lieu
d'un homme.

Théod., V, 5 ; 1639-40.

Ingressa [Agnes] autem turpitudinis
locum, angelum Domini illic ita para-
tum invenit, ut circumdaret eam
immenso lumine, ita ut nullus posset
eam præ splendore respicere, nec
contingere, nec videre.

Amb., Ag., P. L., XVII, 816.

This is the only indication which Corneille gives in the play or elsewhere of the use of the Saint Agnes legend. In *Cinna*, Corneille had used the motif of combining the rôles of two persons into one as here and indicated it in the text, Auguste saying to Cinna and Maxime,

Vous, qui me tenez lieu d'Agrippe et de Mécène.

Cinna, II, 1 ; 894.

While Théodore and Didyme are disputing the right to die, Marcelle appears (V, 6), incensed at the contentions of the two whom she holds guilty of the death of her daughter and the defeat of her ambitions. Like Emilie (*Cinna*, I, 2 ; 101-2) and Cornélie (*Pompée*, IV, 4 ; 1417-18) she is unwilling that the objects of her hatred should die except as victims of her vengeance. Hence, she commands Lycante, without the orders of Valens, to hurry away with them. In departing, Théodore predicts that both will win the martyr's crown, which they did, according to St. Ambrose :

THÉODORE.

Ainsi de ce combat que la vertu nous
donne,

Nous sortirons tous deux avec une
couronne.

Théod., V, 6 ; 1715-6.

Duo contenderunt, et ambo vice-
runt ; nec divisa est corona sed addita.

Amb., De V., M.-L., V, 111.

Valens now appears and decides to take no part in the conflict between Marcelle and Placide, reflecting the attitude of Sempronius, who likewise had the interests of his son at heart, but held his political position in higher regard :

VALENS.

Et qu'en puis-je ordonner
Qui dans mon triste sort ne serve à
me gêner ?

Théod., V, 7 ; 1737-8.

Præfectus autem.... veritus pro-
scriptionem... vicarium suum ad sedi-
tionem populi judicem dereliquit, ipse
autem tristis abscessit.

Amb., Ag., P. L., XVII, 818.

Corneille departs from the historical motivation of the dénouement, allowing Théodore and Didyme to die not as Christian martyrs but as victims of the hatred of Marcelle. He had in mind Cléopâtre and her prototype, Médée. Marcelle, like Médée, avenges herself by slaying those guilty of no crime or evil intentions toward her. In each case a woman is killed because she is loved by a man who has deserted another woman for her. Both Marcelle and Médée kill their victims with their own hands :

MÉDÉE.

Elle [Marcelle] lève le bras, et de la
même main
Leur enfonce à tous deux un poignard
dans le sein.

Théod., V, 8 ; 1805-6.

Ce poignard que tu vois vient de
chasser leurs âmes.

Médée, V, 6 ; 1511.

However, the historical dénouement is preserved in that Théodore, like Agnes, is stabbed to death.

Tunc Aspasius, urbis Romæ vicarius,... in guttur ejus [Agnæ] gladium mergi præcepit.

Amb., Ag., P. L., XVII, 819.

Marcelle, like Cléopâtre, has the courage to take her own life when she sees disgrace ahead of her, and both are defiant in death and display a haughty spirit :

MARCELLE.

CLÉOPÂTRE.

« Je meurs, mais j'ai de quoi rendre
grâces aux Dieux,
Puisque je meurs vengée, et vengée
à tes yeux »

Théod., V, 8 ; 1837-8.

Mais j'ai cette douceur dedans cette
disgrâce.

De ne voir point régner ma rivale en
ma place.

Rodogune, V, 4 ; 1815-6.

When Placide sees that Théodore is dead, he follows the example of Jason in trying to take his own life, both men seeing that the woman whom they have deserted has caused the death of loved ones. In the sources, however, the son of the

prefect is converted after the death of Agnes, but we hear no more of him. Valens is now left with his son wavering between life and death, and is the object of accusations of weakness of purpose hurled by the exasperated son. The father displays few signs of remorse, but expresses the hope that his son will recover.

In summary and conclusion, the contemporary stage seems to have been the chief factor in determining Corneille's choice of the subject of *Théodore*, the suggestion coming from Bartolommei, as in the case of *Polyeucte*. As in the latter play, the source is Surius. The life of Saint Agnes by Saint Ambrose, hitherto overlooked, furnished the theme of rejected love and the characters Placide, Valens, Cléobule; and suggested Flavie and Marcelle. The choice of Antioch as scene of the action, following St. Ambrose's account of Theodora in the *De Virginitibus*, and *Polietto* of Bartolommei, immediately associated the play in the dramatist's mind with *Rodogune*, the scene of which is Seleucia, not far from Antioch in Syria; hence, the similarity of treatment and the influence of *Médée*, which had offered so many suggestions for *Rodogune*. To the motif of abandonment found in the source, Corneille added that of revenge, as in the other two plays, thus changing the historical motivation of the death of the heroine. The play becomes secular, the religious elements are retained as episodic; and this departure from the religious purpose represents a development in Corneille's theatre similar to that of the miracle play of the Mediæval period, based as are *Polyeucte* and *Théodore* on the lives of the saints. The material of the sources is distributed throughout the play, and the dramatist displayed his customary tendency toward the retention of most of the details, some of which are clearly episodic. The libertine of the source, a type which Corneille had depicted in *Clitandre*, becomes virtuous, but his mind is not above suspecting licentiousness in his friend or in the man whom he falsely considers a favored rival; nor does he hesitate to accuse the woman he loves of improper relations. The greater part of act IV is given over to a description of the brothel episode, with its suggestions of violence and ungoverned passions. It was this

act which proved distasteful and was probably the main cause of the failure of the play. What the audience objected to was probably the sordid atmosphere of the brothel and the description of unbridled passions of the common soldier. The play well illustrated Corneille's preference for historic fact as a basis for detail of plot and his reluctance in suppressing incidents of his source. Although there is no proof of the influence of Aristotle, yet Placide approaches more closely the ideal tragic hero of that critic than any of Corneille's previous creations ; for he is good and virtuous, yet has the tragic flaw of inaction at the proper moment and is slow in comprehending the extent to which Marcelle will go in her desire for vengeance. To his blind love is to be traced the tragic end of the heroine and the misery brought upon himself and his family.

CHAPTER IX

HÉRACLIUS

The chief source of problem and plot of *Héraclius* (rep. 1646-47) is Du Ryer's *Bérénice*, represented about two years before the appearance of this play. The discovery of this source adds new evidence to the theory that Corneille gaged the public taste by the successes of his contemporaries and adds a new name to the list of those to whom he was indebted (1). It also emphasizes the fact that he was a co-worker with the chief dramatists of the day, Rotrou, Mairet, Scudéry, and Du Ryer, and this close relationship will be seen again in the next play, *Nicomède*, inspired by Rotrou and showing indebtedness, perhaps, to La Calprenède. It is another blow to the more or less commonly accepted opinion of the independence and aloofness of the « father of French tragedy ». The manner in which the incident in *Baronius*, which forms the historical background of the present play, was suggested to Corneille is not so clear. He had used that historian in searching for material for *Polyeucte*, but there is no reason for supposing that he came across the incident at that time or in later reading of the voluminous work. His attention was probably called to it by Mira de Mescua's *La Rueda de la fortuna*, which in turn he had found either in his search for subjects in the Spanish

(1) The contemporaries to whom Corneille is indebted in previous tragedies are Hardy, Rotrou, Mairet, Scudéry, Bartolommei, and perhaps Chaulmer.

theatre (2), or in reading Mira de Mescua after Rotrou had used this author in his *Bélisaire* (« représenté vers 1642 » (3)). Corneille may have thought of writing a play after reading Mira de Mescua and its source in Baronius and then seen the possibility of the use of Du Ryer, or he may have been inspired by *Bérénice* to use a subject which he already knew. Be this as it may, there is some evidence for the latter assumption. Writing in 1647 or before, not long after the composition of *Héraclius*, Corneille says that the « nœud » of his tragedy is formed by the substitution of infants (4) and the same may be said of *Bérénice*, but not of Mira de Mescua's play. Furthermore, in Baronius the substitution is suggested, but does not occur. Hence, it is probable that Corneille did not see the dramatic possibilities of this situation, with the consequent danger of incest through loss of identity, until the appearance of Du Ryer's play. Whatever may have been the order of ideas as they occurred to the dramatist, an examination of the plays as we now have it shows that *Bérénice* is the principal source for problem and plot; that changes of historic fact are suggested by similar ones in Mira; and that Baronius furnished certain details which the Spanish dramatist omitted. Finally, there is evidence of the use of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, a play of lost identity and subsequent incest, and there are repetitions of motifs and situations from *Cinna* and perhaps from *Rodogune*. Fortunately, the question of the possible influence of Calderón's *En esta vida* has been definitely settled by the discovery of a document showing that this play appeared in 1659, later than Corneille's (5).

In Mira de Mescua's *La Rueda de la fortuna*, one edition of which appeared in 1616 (6), the Roman emperor Mauricio is

(2) Corneille had previously returned to the Spanish stage for inspiration in *Le Menteur* (repr. 1642 or 1643) and *La Suite du Menteur*, (*acheté d'imp.*, Sept., 1645).

(3) H. Carrington Lancaster, *Le Mémoire de Mahélot*, p. 116, n. 2.

(4) *Au Lecteur* (pr. 1647) d'*Héraclius*, M.-L., V, 144.

(5) See « Acerca de la fecha y fuentes de *En la vida todo es verdad y todo mentira*, » by Carlos Castillo, *Mod. Phil.*, XI (1922-23), 391-401.

(6) See E. Martinenche, *La Comedia espagnole en France*, Paris, Hachette, 1900, p. 269, n. 2.

deposed to make way for Focas, and the latter in turn gives way to Heraclio, son of Mauricio. The mother of Heraclio, fearing lest her son be killed, had put him as a child in care of Heracliano, and the boy had grown up unaware of his parentage. Lost identity and the saving of a future ruler through strategy are two leading motifs. The historical fact of the succession of the three emperors, Maurice, Phocas, and Heraclius, is preserved: but the author alters history in making Héraclius the son of Maurice, and in prolonging the life of the wife and a daughter of Maurice after the death of Phocas. Turning to Baronius, Corneille found the incident, which Mira de Mescua had rejected, of the nurse who offered to substitute her child for the emperor Maurice's (7), but was not permitted to make the sacrifice. Subsequently all the sons of Maurice were killed by order of Phocas, but rumor had it that one survived and his return was anxiously awaited by the people who held the late emperor in veneration. A few years later the empress Constantine, wife of Maurice, and her three daughters were put to death by Phocas, who feared a return of the royal family through some reversal of fortune. The wife of the usurper was named Leontia. He reigned until the year 610, when he was dethroned by Heraclius, whose wife was Eudocia (8).

Corneille characterized his play as « une hardie entreprise sur l'histoire » (9), but it is not true that the changes were made independently, as might be inferred from a reading of the *Au Lecteur*, since he had before him the example of Mira de Mescua. The falsifications common to both are the supposition that Heraclius was the son of Maurice, that the former was saved from death by a stratagem, the ignorance of the people in regard to the identity of Heraclius the secret being entrusted only to the mother and a guardian, the presence of a daughter of Maurice at the time of the dethroning of Phocas, and the prolongation of the life of the empress. Whereas Mira de Mescua shortened the reign of Phocas from eight years to at

(7) Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, year 602. Marty-Laveaux gives the text of this incident in Baronius, V, 122, n. 3.

(8) See Baronius, years 602-610.

(9) *Au Lecteur d'Héraclius*, M.-L., V, 143.

most a few hours, Corneille lengthened it by twelve years. Of the falsifications which he mentions in the *Au Lecteur* (10) only one was made independently, namely, the giving to Phocas of a son instead of a daughter.

Neither Mira de Mescua nor Baronius offered much that would attract the attention of the French dramatist. The former is concerned with the rapid changes of fortune, as seen in the momentary elevation to power of Focas, the vengeance of the death of a father by a son, and the succession of this son to the throne; while the latter mentions the generous offer of a nurse to sacrifice her child. It was only after the appearance of *Bérénice*, probably, that Corneille saw the dramatic possibilities in the story of the family of Maurice and his successors; for of the sources of *Héraclius* that play alone deals with the consequences of substitution of children and develops its dramatic possibilities.

Du Ryer's *Bérénice* was first printed in 1645 and probably represented in 1644 (11). Corneille took from it the subject of the play, danger of incest through ignorance of identity, and the plot which centers around the attempt at its avoidance. He is indebted to it for one of the most effective scenes (III, 1), which follows *Bérénice* V, 2 thought for thought and shows a number of verbal resemblances. The following list gives the principal borrowings that cannot be traced to the other sources:

1. The avoidance of incest, danger of which results from ignorance of identity.
2. The person who has made the substitution of infants is unexpectedly confronted with the problem of preventing an incestuous marriage without revealing the secret of the exchange.
3. It is the ruler who unwittingly plans the incestuous marriage.
4. The ruler wants the man whom he supposes to be his son to marry the latter's sister.

(10) See the *Au Lecteur*, M.-L., V, 143-4.

(11) See H. Carrington Lancaster, *Pierre Du Ryer Dramatist*, Washington, D. C., Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1912, for the best study of this author. It was in reading the description of *Bérénice* in this work that I noted the resemblances to *Héraclius*. Professor Lancaster kindly lent me his copy of the first edition of the play, *Berenice, tragi-comédie en prose*, par P. Du Ryer, Paris, Sommarville & Coërbé, 1645.

5. Two lovers fall into the illusion that they are brother and sister, think that they, therefore, have been guilty of criminal thoughts, and experience mental agony in readjusting relationships. (*Hér.*, III, 1 and *Bér.*, V, 2).
6. Feigning acquiescence in regard to ruler's desire as to marriage is suggested as means of combating the ruler.
7. Departure from country is suggested as a means for avoiding incest.
8. Ruler rears in palace boy whom he falsely considers his son.
9. Ruler expresses intention of marrying woman in love with another (supposed son in *Bérénice*, son in *Héraclius*).
10. Ruler's child falls in love with child of one who has made substitution of infants and the two marry at end of play.
11. Person who has substituted child for that of ruler enjoys the confidence of the ruler.
12. Person who has made substitution has daughter who passes as sister of ruler's real child.
13. The two young men are good friends and brothers-in-arms.
14. Letter of dying mother confirms identity of her child, who is the real heir to the throne.

There are other similarities, such as the double wedding, which may, however, be traced to one of the other sources. The prominence given in *Bérénice* to inequality of rank as an obstacle to marriage and its removal through illustrious deeds is reflected in *Héraclius*, but this is a motif found also in *Le Cid* and is of too frequent occurrence in the theatre of the seventeenth century to be traceable exclusively to one source.

Loss of identity and subsequent incest is the theme of the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles and Corneille seems to have had this play in mind in writing *Héraclius*, and to have used its motif of parricide. For Léontine tells us that she has preserved Martian that he may become unwittingly his father's slayer :

Je ne l'ai conservé que pour ce parricide.

(*Hér.*, II, 3 ; 557.)

Furthermore, this play is mentioned by the dramatist not long after the composition of *Héraclius* in justification of parts of the plot of the latter (12). It is interesting to note, also, that when Corneille decided some years later (1658) to rewrite *Œdipus* for the French stage, he used some of the motifs of *Héraclius* (13). It is not improbable that in writing the pres-

(12) See the *Au Lecteur* (1647) d'*Héraclius*, M.-L., V, 146.

(13) The repetitions in *Œdipe* center for the most part around the love episode which Corneille introduced into the *Œdipus* legend. Dircé, invented as

ent play he was impressed with the dramatic possibilities of *Œdipus Tyrannus*; and, hence, the attribution which Corneille makes of the genesis of *Œdipe* to a suggestion from his benefactor Fouquet may be looked upon with some suspicion. If Fouquet mentioned *Œdipus* as one of three subjects from which the dramatist was to choose, the most that can be said is that he hit upon a subject which Corneille had long had in mind; and the fact that the play was finished in two months would lead to the conclusion that the poet had given some previous thought to the subject.

It is also possible that Corneille began to pay some conscious attention to the *Poetics* of Aristotle during the composition of *Héraclius*, since that work is referred to in the *Au Lecteur* and the use of *Œdipus* would suggest it, in view of the fact that Aristotle considered this Greek play the nearest approach to the ideal tragedy. In former plays there is little evidence of attention to the tenets of the critic, although Placide in *Théodore* approaches closely the ideal tragic hero of Aristotle (14).

In working out the plot Corneille made use of his own *Cinna*. He had before him in Phocas a ruler resembling Auguste in his rise to power through the death of others and in his living in dread of his enemies. He depicted him, as he had Auguste, as feeling the burden of the crown which he had so ardently

the stepdaughter of Œdipe, looks upon the latter as the usurper of her father's throne, as does Pulchérie upon Phocas, and both women display a defiant spirit. In both plays the rulers try to strengthen their hold on the throne by forcing the women to marry men whom they do not love. The lovers, Dircé and Thésée in *Œdipe*, and Pulchérie and Martian in *Héraclius*, are led into the illusion that they are brother and sister and have, therefore, run the risk of committing incest (a situation, also, of Du Ryer's *Bérénice*). Both Thésée and Martian are led to believe that they are sons of previous rulers, slain by present rulers, and desire to avenge the death of their supposed fathers.

(14) For a discussion of this subject see « Corneille and the Italian Doctrinaires, » by Colbert Searles, *Mod. Phil.*, XIII (1915-16), 169-179. Professor Searles bases his conclusions of influence of the critics on Corneille on a study of the dramatist's non-dramatic writings, which, however, reveal little before 1647. It is only after an exhaustive study of the sources of Corneille that the influence of the critics can be determined. The present work shows, at least, that much has been overlooked and suggests that much is yet to be done before the problem which Professor Searles treats can be solved with accuracy.

coveted. The despair of Phocas on seeing himself abandoned by even his own son may be a suggestion from *Cinna*, in which the emperor exclaims,

Et toi, ma fille, aussi !

(*Cinna*, V, 2 ; 1564).

Rejecting the historical dénouement, in which Heraclius causes the death of Phocas, Corneille introduces two conspirators, Exupère and Amyntas, to accomplish this deed. He makes of them the false friends of the emperor, as were Cinna and Maxime, and introduces a council scene as in *Cinna* II, 1, on which it is largely modeled. He allows the emperor to rear in the palace the daughter of a man whom he has killed, the situation of Auguste and Emilie. Finally, both women seek to avenge a father's death by offering to marry the man who will kill the father's slayer.

Choice of names and characters and arrangement of relationships are, therefore, traceable largely to the several sources. Baronius gave the names of Léontine, Crispe, and Eudoxe ; this historian and Mira de Mescua, those of Phocas and Héraclius ; and the latter, the name of Léonce. Corneille added those of Pulchérie, Martian, Exupère, and Amyntas. Either Mira de Mescua or Du Ryer suggested the two pairs of lovers. Those in Corneille are Héraclius and Eudoxe, his historical wife, and Martian and Pulchérie. Héraclius is the son of Maurice as in Mira de Mescua, and Pulchérie is the name given to a daughter of Maurice instead of Teodosia, his daughter, as in the Spanish play. After taking Eudoxe from Baronius, Corneille needed a masculine rôle to complete the two pairs. Hence Martian, son of Phocas, instead of the historical only daughter of that emperor, or again, instead of Bérénice, daughter of the ruler in Du Ryer. The arrangement of the members of the two families was suggested by *Bérénice* and *Cinna*. Léontine, who corresponds to Criton in *Bérénice*, has likewise a daughter who passes as the sister of the ruler's child and who labors under mistaken identity. This child is in each case reared by the person who has made the substitution. The rulers, Phocas and the king in *Bérénice*, rear each a son whom they falsely consider their own, and Phocas is like Auguste in having in his

family the daughter of a man whom he has slain. Baronius suggested the first substitution which Léontine made, that of her son for one of the emperor Maurice ; and *Bérénice*, the second, that of Héraclius for the son of Phocas. Exupère and Amyntas, false friends of the ruler and conspirators, are from *Cinna* ; and Crispe, the historical son-in-law of Phocas, retains this relationship in the play.

The first act centers about the proposed incestuous marriage and attempts at its avoidance and, hence, is based, for the most part, on suggestions from Du Ryer's *Bérénice*, the first act of which reveals to one of the actors, although not to the reader, the desire of the king to marry unwittingly his own daughter. In both plays the proposal of the ruler disturbs the plans of the four lovers and causes those who are aware of the true relationships to seek the avoidance of incest without revealing the secret of the substitution of children. Since the proposed marriage and its avoidance constitute the main problem in both plays, the plot of *Héraclius* was based, for the most part, on that of *Bérénice*. The dramatist follows Baronius in depicting the usurper Phocas as living in dread of an uprising among the people, who cherish the memory of their late emperor Maurice, and his fear of the return of a son, a rumor of which is in circulation. History is falsified in the preservation at the time of the play of a daughter of Maurice, whom Phocas rears in the palace and treats in a manner similar to that of Auguste toward Emilie (*Cinna*). He wants her to marry Héraclius, whom he considers his son, and who is in reality her brother, just as the king unwittingly wishes Tarsis, who passes as his son, to marry the latter's sister Amasie (*Bérénice*, II, 3). Whereas the king in *Bérénice* is actuated by love in unwittingly wishing to marry his own daughter, Phocas is dominated by ambition to establish himself and his family more firmly on the throne, a motive resembling that of Marcelle in *Théodore*.

In the first scene Phocas, who has arrived at power, like Auguste, through the shedding of blood, speaks, as did the Roman emperor, of the burden of the crown and its deceptive allurements :

PHOCAS.

Crispe, il n'est que trop vrai, la plus
belle couronne
N'a que de faux brillants dont l'éclat
l'environne.

Hérac., I, 1 ; 1-2.

AUGUSTE.

Cette grandeur sans borne et cet
illustre rang,

N'est que de ces beautés dont l'éclat
éblouit.

Cinna, II, 1 ; 359, 363.

Both rulers feel that they are surrounded by enemies and that hopes of enjoyment have been deceived (*Hér.*, I, 1 ; 5-8 and *Cinna*, II, 1 ; 371-4). Phocas speaks of the five sons of Maurice whom he has put to death before the emperor's eyes :

PHOCAS.

Mais le sang répandu de l'empereur
Maurice,
Ses cinq fils à ses yeux envoyés au
supplice....

Hérac., I, 1 ; 21-2.

[Phocas] mox excitatus, missis militibus ad Mauritium, eum ad portum Europii adduci jussit. Ubi ante oculos ejus jussi sunt necari quinque filii masculi.

Baronius, XI, 34 (yr. 602).

The rumor concerning the escape from death of one of the sons of Maurice (*Hérac.*, I, 1 ; 23-34) is based on Baronius, who says that his name was Theodosius :

Fama autem obtinet, percussorem Theodosio parcentem, alium pro eo admodum illi similem jugulasse ; ipsum vero Theodosium profugum in locis multis multa expertum, postea morbo interiisse. Atque ea quidem fama per omnes Romani Imperii ditiones vulgata est. Baronius, XI, 85 (yr. 607).

Phocas is convinced that the son of Maurice is not alive and speaks of the circumstances of his death, more milk flowing from his wounds than blood :

PHOCAS.

Il n'avoit que six mois ; et lui perçant
le flanc,
On en fit dégoutter plus de lait que
de sang.

Hérac., I, 1 ; 39-40.

Mauritius... infantem.... suum prodidit, qui visus est e vulneribus lac dare cum sanguine.

Baron., XI, 34 (yr. 602).

Phocas mentions his wife without giving her name (vs. 42). History calls her Leontia (Baron., XI, 34), and Corneille seems to have used this name for the woman who in the play had saved the son of Maurice. The emperor's daughter whom Phocas saved in the play after killing her father (vs. 34-6) bears a

somewhat similar relationship to the usurper that Emilie bore to Auguste: Phocas planned to make her his daughter-in-law; Auguste adopted Emilie after slaying Toranius with his own hand (*Cinna*, I, 1; 11).

When Phocas tries to force Pulchérie to marry his son (I, 2), she shows a defiant attitude similar to that of Cornélie toward César (*Pompée*, IV, 4), each woman speaking to the man arrived at power through the death of one she loved. That Héraclius is about to return is based on the rumor in Baronius that a son of Maurice escaped death (see citation to verses 25-34 above). The threats of Phocas to slay Pulchérie if she will not do his bidding (I, 3; 271) may be considered historical, since the usurper put to death the daughters of Maurice five years after slaying the father. Héraclius, aware of his identity, tries to avoid marriage with his sister through other means than revealing the secret of his birth (I, 4). He speaks of his love for Eudoxe (I, 4; 318), who bears the name of the historical wife of the emperor of the same name (15). He urges Pulchérie to accept Martian, who passes in the play as Léonce and is depicted as a brave warrior (see vs. 67) as was Leoncio, the general of Mira de Mescua's play. Inequality of rank as an obstacle to marriage and its removal through meritorious deeds is a leading motif of *Bérénice*; and both Du Ryer and Corneille pave the way for the marriage of a ruler's daughter to one beneath her in rank by supposing that he has distinguished himself in arms. For although Martian is the son of the ruler Phocas, yet his father was of humble origin and had no claim to the throne.

The second act is a development of the motifs of mistaken identity and threatened incest as in *Bérénice* and of the danger of a son's slaying his father unwittingly as in *Œdipus Tyrannus*. Several suggestions come from Baronius, and the situation arises of two rival claimants to the throne as in *Rodogune*.

When Léontine shows reluctance to revealing the secret of the identity of Héraclius as a means of avoiding marriage with

(15) Desponsaverat autem Heraclius Eudociam filiam Rogati Afri, ... Baronius, XI, 97 (yr. 610).

his sister, the young man suggests the alternative of departure from the country,

Pour éviter l'inceste,
Je n'ai qu'à m'éloigner de ce climat funeste
(II, 2; 533-4),

the means which Criton proposed in *Bérénice* to accomplish a similar end (*Bérénice*, I, 5). That the people are eager for the return of a son of Maurice (II, 2; 473-4) is based on Baronius, and the salvation of Héraclius through the substitution of a child of Léontine (II, 2; 520) is suggested by the same historian, who tells of a nurse who offered to make a similar sacrifice, but was not allowed to do so. Léontine now reveals to Eudoxe that her object in preserving the son of Phocas, entrusted to her care, was to accomplish the death of the usurper by the hand of his son :

Je ne l'ai conservé que pour ce parricide
(II, 3; 557),

a fate similar to that which the gods had in view in preserving the infant OEdipus from death. Since Exupère is to accomplish the death of the usurper and not Héraclius, as in Mira de Mescua and Baronius, Corneille supposes that he hates Phocas because of the death of his father,

Dans l'âme il [Exupère] hait Phocas, qui s'immola son père
(II, 3; 581).

Exupère, therefore, conspires against the emperor for the same reason as did Emilie against Auguste ; and later on we find him in council with Phocas, who considers him a friend, thus resembling Cinna. The use of a letter, written by the late emperor Maurice and telling of the substitution of a son of Léontine for his own son Héraclius (II, 5), was suggested by a similar one in *Bérénice* (V, 6), written by the dying queen and revealing the substitution of a son of Criton for her daughter Bérénice. Martian, who has hitherto passed as the son of Léontine, now thinks he is the son of Maurice (II, 5). Hence, there are two rival claimants to the throne with the secret of their respective rights entrusted to a woman as in *Rodogune*. Martian accuses Léontine of encouraging his love for Pulchérie, whom he now

considers his sister (II, 6; 700-3) and unwittingly becomes guilty of a similar crime in wishing Héraclius to marry her (II, 6). Léontine, who, like Criton in *Bérénice*, has substituted her child for one of a ruler and is responsible for the loss of identity, has failed likewise to foresee the danger of incest and complains of the adverse turn of affairs (II, 7).

The third act is based largely on *Bérénice* and *Cinna* and shows some similarities to *Œdipus* and *Le Cid*.

The first scene was inspired by a scene in *Bérénice* (V, 2), both depicting the emotions of two lovers who falsely believe themselves to be brother and sister. The women display a surprising rapidity in readjusting themselves to the new situation, whereas the men have great difficulty in giving up the women they love. Both scenes open with expressions of hesitancy on the part of the men in the use of the appellation « sœur » :

MARTIAN.

TARSIS.

Je veux bien l'avouer, Madame, car
mon cœur
A de la peine encore à vous nommer
ma sœur,

Il m'est encore impossible de vous
appeller ma sœur.

Bérénice, V, 2.

Hér., III, 1; 773-4.

After a lengthy explanation of the love of persons of unequal rank (III, 1; 773-812), a theme that is much discussed in *Bérénice*, Corneille returns to the scene he is following. Whereas *Bérénice* says that love must yield to « nature », Pulchérie implies as much by accusing her passion of making her forgetful of the « droit de la nature » :

PULCHÉRIE.

BÉRÉNICE.

Et de ma passion la flatteuse imposture
S'emparoit dans mon cœur des droits
de la nature.

... c'est qu'il faut céder à la nature,
et vaincre l'amour par l'amitié.

Bérénice V, 2.

Hér., III, 1; 811-2.

The reply of the two men is the same : that it is easy to pass from friendship to love, but not from love to friendship :

MARTIAN.

Qu'aisément l'amitié jusqu'à l'amour
 nous mène!
 C'est un penchant si doux qu'on y
 tombe sans peine;
 Mais quand il faut changer l'amour
 en amitié,
 Que l'âme qui s'y force est digne de
 pitié.

Hér., III, 1; 815-8.

TARSIS.

On peut aller facilement de l'amitié
 à l'amour, mais il n'est pas si facile
 d'aller de l'amour à l'amitié (16).
Bérénice, V, 2.

Both experience a feeling of « horreur » in the new relation-
 ship :

MARTIAN.

Ainsi donc la nature à l'espoir le plus
 doux
 Fait succéder l'horreur, et l'horreur
 d'être à vous!

Hér., III, 1; 821-2.

TARSIS.

... j'ay horreur d'estre vostre frere.
Bérénice, V, 2,

Pulchérie replies that her love for Martian has been too deep
 for her not to feel great sorrow in its sacrifice, whereas Béré-
 nice fails to express such sentiments; but both women are
 guided by reason and duty and emphasize the rapidity of their
 victory over love :

PULCHÉRIE.

Mais j'en condamnerois le plus doux
 souvenir,
 S'il avoit à mon cœur coûté plus d'un
 soupir.

 Et comme tous mes feux n'avoient
 rien que de saint,
 L'honneur les alluma, le devoir les
 éteint.

Hér., III, 1; 833-4; 837-8.

TARSIS.

Donnez, donnez à mon amour pour
 le moins le temps d'expirer.

BÉRÉNICE.

Il ne luy faut pas plus de temps
 qu'il en faut pour prononcer le nom
 de sœur et de frere.

TARSIS.

Quoy! Berenice, vous avez si peu
 combattu.

BÉRÉNICE.

Je ne sçay ce que j'ay fait, mais ie
 pense avoir fait mon devoir.

Bérénice., V, 2.

(16) Professor Lancaster calls attention to this maxim, characterizing it as
 « worthy of La Rochefoucauld », in his *Pierre Du Ryer Dramatist*, p. 140. It is
 indeed striking and epitomizes the scene in *Bérénice*, which Corneille follows
 thought for thought.

Both men then express greater difficulty in overcoming their love, but Martian adds that he will avenge Pulchérie by joining with the conspirators against Phocas, thus becoming unwittingly guilty of parricidal intentions, a variant of a motif of *Œdipus Tyrannus*. They give assurance that their love will cause no further offense:

MARTIAN.

C'est Léonce qui parle, et non pas
votre frère ;
Mais si l'un parle mal, l'autre va bien
agir,
Et l'un ni l'autre enfin ne vous fera
rougir.

Hér., III, 1 ; 856-8.

TARSIS.

Non, non, Berenice, ie ne vous
offenseray plus.

Bérénice, V, 2.

Whereupon each man proposes to the woman whom he considers his sister a marriage with one closely related to her, neither, of course, being aware of the relationship :

MARTIAN.

Épousez Martian (17) comme un autre
moi-même.

Hér., III, 1 ; 867.

TARSIS.

La première marque que ie vous
puis donner de mon amitié, c'est de
vous conseiller d'aimer un Roy qui
vous appelle maintenant au partage
de ses grandeurs.

Bérénice, V, 2.

Both women raise objections to the proposed marriage because of family interests, Bérénice saying that she prefers to have Tarsis, whom she considers her brother, continue to pass as the son of the king and thus inherit the throne, and Pulchérie objecting to the relationship of daughter-in-law of Phocas, since her desire to avenge her father's death would assume a parricidal nature and thus prevent her from following her duty. Corneille ends his scene with a promise on the part of Pulchérie to marry Héraclius on condition that Phocas be slain, a variant of the « tête » motif. It is very interesting to note, therefore, how closely Corneille followed his source in developing one

(17) Martian, who now thinks he is Héraclius, speaks of the true Héraclius as Martian. Before falling into this error he thought that he was Léonce, son of Léontine.

of the most effective scenes of the play, and that he frequently chose a striking scene from a contemporary play for use in beginning an act (18).

In the next scene (III, 2) Phocas unwittingly plans the death of his son Martian, a variant of the *Œdipus* motif. The remaining scenes of the act (III, 3, 4, and 5) are developed largely from themes in *Cinna*. Pulchérie offers her hand to him who will bring her the head of her father's murderer, as did Chimène and Emilie (19), and speaks the language of the former, although her situation as ward of her father's slayer is more like that of the latter :

PULCHÉRIE.

CHIMÈNE.

Je serai la conquête
De quiconque à mes pieds apportera
sa tête.

Hérac., III, 3; 1047-8.

A tous vos cavaliers je demande sa
tête :

Oui, qu'un d'eux me l'apporte, et je
suis sa conquête.

Le Cid, IV, 5; 1401-2.

EMILIE.

S'il me veut posséder, Auguste doit
périr :

Sa tête est le seul prix dont il peut
m'acquérir.

Cinna, I, 2; 55-6.

Attention has been called to the use of this motif in *Rodogune* (cf. especially II, 3; 642-5 and III, 4; 1044-5). Scene 4 shows similarities to the famous council scene of *Cinna*, II, 1, both emperors asking counsel of those who conspire against their lives and addressing them as friends :

PHOCAS.

AUGUSTE.

Vous donc, mes vrais amis, qui me
tirez de peine.

Hérac., III, 4; 1059.

Voilà, mes chers amis, ce qui me met
en peine.

Cinna, II, 1; 393.

(18) Compare *Horace* I, 1; *Cinna* I, 1 and II, 1; *Polyeucte* I, 1; and *Pompée*, I, 1. (See comments on these scenes in the foregoing chapters and note 22 of the chapter on *Polyeucte*). Furthermore, *Rodogune* opens on the wedding day of the rival, as does *Médée*; and *Héraclius* and *Pertharite* have opening scenes recalling situations in *Cinna* and *Polyeucte*, respectively.

(19) Cf. note 23 of the foregoing chapter on *Le Cid*.

Exupère the conspirator takes advantage, as did Cinna in a similar situation, of the opportunity to give advice which will prove dangerous to the emperor, and Phocas, like Auguste, in gratitude expresses his intention of rewarding his false friends:

PHOCAS

AUGUSTE.

Ils seront, eux et vous, les mattres
de l'empire.

Maxime, je vous fais gouverneur de
Sicile.

Hérac., III, 4; 1116.

Cinna, II, 1; 633.

When the emperor departs, Amyntas reproaches Exupère with treachery as Maxime did Cinna (*Hérac.*, III, 5 and *Cinna*, II, 2).

Act IV owes little to Baronius or Mira de Mescua. Its leading motifs — despair of the usurper at his inability to identify his son and defiance of Léontine, who alone holds the secret — have been incorrectly attributed to Calderón (20), for Professor Castillo has shown that the Spanish play was written later than the French (21). It is probable that in writing this act Corneille thought of *Cinna*, on which he had drawn in previous acts. Phocas, like Auguste, arrived at power through ruthless sacrifice of lives, finds himself deserted by those whom he trusted, even by his own son, who, like the adopted daughter of Auguste, turns against him. Scene 3, depicting the despair of Phocas, ends in the striking reference to his son (vs. 1388), recalling the words of Auguste,

Et toi, ma fille, aussi !

Cinna, V, 2; 1564.

There are also similarities to *Théodore* and *Œdipus Tyrannus*.

In scene 1 Héraclius expresses his desire to save Martian, unwilling that the latter should die in his place. Phocas sends Eudoxe to prison (IV, 2), and questions Héraclius and Martian in an attempt to discover which is his son (IV, 3), each young man maintaining that he is Héraclius, son of Maurice. The

(20) Cf. Corneille, IV, 3 and Calderón, I, 10 and Corneille, IV, 4, and Calderón, I, 10; and see M.-L., V, 120 for passages in Calderón which bear close verbal resemblances to passages in Corneille. See also the article of Carlos Castillo, *op. cit.*, for parallel between Corneille IV, 4 and Calderón I, 10.

(21) *Op. cit.*

contest which ensues for the honor of dying as the son of Maurice in order to avoid the odium of living as the son of Phocas recalls the contest of Théodore and Didyme for the martyr's crown (22). The result in each case is similar : Phocas is robbed of his victim, not knowing which is the son of Maurice, and Marcelle feels that her means of vengeance is lost through the desire of death on the part of those whom she holds guilty of her misfortune. Furthermore, Martian resembles Didyme in that he offers to die in the place of one to whom he has previously rendered a signal service (23). Exupère, the conspirator, plays the part of the false friend, resembling Cinna and his prototype Brutus. His promise to aid Phocas in solving his problem has a double meaning :

Je vous en tirerai, Seigneur, dans peu de temps.
(Vs. 1318.)

Léontine is now questioned, but refuses to disclose the identity of the two young men (IV, 4). Her purpose has been accomplished of making Phocas live in dread of his son, a fate similar to that of Laius, father of OEDIPUS :

Je te veux toujours voir, quoi que ta rage fasse,
Craindre ton ennemi dedans ta propre race.
Hérac., IV, 4 ; 1411-12.

She dominates the situation as final authority on the circumstances of the birth of the two young men, just as Cléopâtre does in *Rodogune*. Exupère now tries to convince Léontine of his intention to slay the usurper, but she refuses to believe him when he tells her that he has a band of conspirators eager to avenge wrong done by Phocas.

The fifth act is largely Corneille's invention, but shows certain resemblances to *Bérénice*. In both plays the proposal is made to pretend to acquiesce in the demands of the ruler and thus to gain time to combat them, and proof of identity is given in letters of dying mothers. Héraclius is led to doubt his iden-

(22) Cf. *Héraclius* IV, 3 ; 1318-1360 and *Théodore*, V, 5 and 6 ; 1652-66.

(23) Didyme saved Théodore from the brothel, Martian saved the life of Héraclius (*Hérac.*, IV, 3 ; 1281).

tity, a theme which is not found in *Bérénice*. The generosity of Héraclius in offering to pass as the son of Phocas in order to save the life of his friend Martian is somewhat like that of Amasie, who pretends that Tarsis is in love with her in order to shield her sister (*Bérénice*, III, 2). The decision of Phocas to marry Pulchérie is like that of the king in regard to Bérénice, both women being younger and in love with another man. Finally, in both plays all obstacles are removed from the lovers' path and they prepare for marriage. The historical dénouement is disregarded in that Héraclius has no part in the death of the tyrant, which shows the dramatist's desire to give elevation of soul to his hero, as in *Rodogune* and *Nicomède*. The result is artistically unsatisfactory, since the method resembles that of the *deus ex machina*.

Corneille returns to the use of *stances* (V, 1), as in *Le Cid* (I, 6) and *Polyeucte* (IV, 2), for depicting the hesitations of the soul in following duty. In his doubts as to whether he may be the son of Phocas Héraclius asks counsel of Pulchérie (V, 2) and in order to save his friend Martian he offers to pass as the tyrant's son (V, 3), but he rebels when ordered to marry Pulchérie, whom he knows to be his sister. Phocas now commands Pulchérie to discover his son and marry him; failing in this, she will be forced to marry the ruler himself, a situation somewhat like that in *Bérénice*. Finally, in order to combat the designs of the ruler, a feigned marriage is proposed in accordance with the wishes of the tyrant, resembling the plan of Tarsis to pretend acquiescence in the king's demands (*Bérénice*, IV, 3). Since each man considers himself the brother of Pulchérie, neither is willing to marry her, even in pretense. They, therefore, await their fate, and Pulchérie resolves on death. With this scene (V, 5) ends the conflict of noble souls, in which Héraclius has been true to the memory of his father and generous toward his friend, while Pulchérie has repulsed the temptation of gaining a throne through an odious marriage, and Martian, reared as the son of a woman of noble rank, has risen above his plebeian birth. Corneille shows the benefits of heredity and of environment, themes which are suggested by Du Ryer's *Bérénice*.

The dénouement is brought about by Exupère, who, in spite of his early mention in the play and justification in killing the tyrant, since his father has been slain by him, has no part in the action. He slays Phocas with his own hand, whereas in *Mira de Mescua* it is Heraclio who accomplishes the deed, and in *Baronius* the same person orders it.

Illico autem Heraclius jubet manus et pedes, mox humeros et pudenda amputari, tandem et caput.

Baronius XI, 98 (yr. 610).

In the last scene (V, 7) the identity of Héraclius and Martian is revealed in a letter written by the dying Constantine, the method used by Du Ryer in his *Bérénice*, in which the letter of the dying queen reveals the identity of her daughter Bérénice. In both cases the letter is introduced by the persons who have made the substitution, in confirmation of their assertions.

In summary : Corneille was attracted by Du Ryer's *Bérénice*, a play of substitution of children and consequent loss of identity and risk of incest, and decided to write a play along similar lines, using the story of the emperor Maurice and his successors as found in *Baronius* and treated by *Mira de Mescua* in his *Rueda de la fortuna*. He did not know Calderón's *En esta vida*, as some have thought, since this play was first acted only in 1659. He used his own *Cinna* in depicting the emperor Phocas, the conspiracy against his life and the opposition to him offered by the daughter of the man whom he had slain.

CHAPTER X

NICOMÈDE

Nicomède was performed in 1650 or 1651. The subject was probably suggested by Rotrou's *Cosroès* (pr. 1649), which in turn owes its genesis to *Héraclius* and shows certain analogies to *Rodogune*. Another contemporary from whom Corneille may have borrowed is La Calprenède, whose *Mort de Mithridate*, « first played probably in 1635 » (1), is concerned with an oriental king, Mithridates the Great, whose character gave suggestions for that of Nicomède. After choosing the story of Prusias and his son Nicomedes as found in Justin, Corneille read extensively in the ancient historians, Appian, Livy, Plutarch, Dio, and perhaps Polybius, whom he had not hitherto used. He probably used a life of Hannibal in a supplement to Amyot and may have read Sallust. There is no evidence of the use of Eutropius, Velleius Paterculus, or Florus. With *Cosroès* in mind, he saw in Justin the possibilities of representing a struggle within a family in which the ambitions of a stepmother are brought to naught ; but as he read he was impressed with the greater possibilities of the subject, and the play in its final form gives a vast picture of the heroic resistance of the East to the subtle foreign policy of Rome.

The hero of the play bears the name of the weak Nicomedes II, but his spirit is that of the daring and courageous

(1) See H. Carrington Lancaster, « La Calprenède Dramatist, » *M. P.*, XVIII (1920-21), 124.

Mithridates the Great, whose sister he married, according to Justin. Furthermore, he is depicted as the pupil of Hannibal, whose resourceful generalship nearly cost Rome the loss of her ambitions. Pitted against Flaminius, whom Corneille mistook for the son of the Roman general, he proves worthy of his great master by overcoming his enemy in a battle of wits. Resistance of the East to the West becomes the theme, and conflicts of individuals sink into the background. In vastness of conception and skillful handling of detail *Nicomède* represents, perhaps, Corneille's nearest approach to Shakespeare. If the author had a special fondness for *Rodogune*, because he had composed it without the help of plays by other writers, he must have looked with pride upon *Nicomède* because its final form had far surpassed his first conception of the possibilities of the story of Nicomedes and his ambitious stepmother. As we shall see, the historical background suggested another *Cosroès* or *Rodogune*, plays of thwarted ambition; and *Nicomède* might have been a work of the same type, had not further reading and reflection transformed it into a play depicting the resistance of the peoples of the East to the foreign policy of Rome.

The plot of Rotrou's *Cosroès* offers several striking analogies to the incident in Justin (XXXIV, 4) on which Corneille says he based his *Nicomède* (2):

In *Cosroès* the king of this name is disliked by his subjects because he has killed his father in order to gain the throne. He takes from his eldest son Siroès the right of succession and gives it to Mardesane, a son by a second marriage, actuated thereto by an ambitious wife. The people subsequently give the throne to the rightful heir, Siroès, in love with Marsée

In Justin (XXXIV, 4) Prusias, hated by his subjects because of his cruelties, conceived a desire to kill his eldest son, Nicomedes, in favor of his children by a second marriage. The people dethrone Prusias and make Nicomedes king. Nicomedes was afterwards engaged to Laodice (Justin, XXXVIII, 1).

With Rotrou's play before him, the dramatist's choice of characters for his new play was not difficult. Prusias corresponds

(2) Corneille had used Justin in *Rodogune* and probably recalled the story of Nicomedes when Rotrou's play appeared. For comparisons of *Cosroès* and *Nicomède* see F. Hémon's edition of *Nicomède*, Paris, Delagrave, n. d., pp. 38-42, and Georg Wendt's *Pierre Corneille und Jean Rotrou*, Diss., Leipzig, Weida, 1910, pp. 82-86 and *passim*.

to Cosroës; Nicomède to Siroës; the second wife of Prusias, known in the play as Arsinoé, to Sira; a child by a second marriage of Prusias, called Attale in the play, to Mardesane; and Marsée, to Laodice (3). With the five principal personages indicated by Justin and corresponding to the same number in *Cosroës*, Corneille saw the possibility of depicting a conflict similar to that of Rotrou's play. Furthermore, the leading figure, Sira, an ambitious stepmother, showed striking analogies to his own Marcelle (*Théodore*), each woman placing the interests of her child above those of her stepson and exercising a dominant control over her husband, who is ruler only in name (4).

Again Sira resembles both Marcelle and Cléopâtre (*Rodogune*) in willingness to slay those who stand in the way of her ambitions. Hence, Corneille must have conceived his new play at first as one of ambition and vengeance, with the stepmother as the central figure. But in searching for historical details needed in rounding out the plot he found further suggestions, the principal one of which was the conflict of the Eastern princes with the foreign policy of Rome. In the first place, history was almost silent about the stepbrother of Nicomedes II, and in following his tendency of supplying such details through suggestions from his sources rather than through invention, he recalled an account of two brothers, Attalus (5) and Eumenes,

(3) Laodice has hitherto been insufficiently identified. Justin says that she was the sister of Mithridates the Great, engaged to Nicomedes II, son of Prusias (XXXVIII, 1) and that she afterwards married him (XXXVIII, 2). Professor Harrison, in his edition of *Nicomède*, New York, Macmillan, 1900, p. 96, overlooked the passages in Justin in which Corneille found Laodice.

(4) Dr. Georg Wendt is mistaken when he says that Rotrou first put on the stage the ruler dominated by his wife: « In Cosroës führt Rotrou eine für das französische Theater zum Theil neue Gestalt auf die Bühne, die Corneille noch nicht gezeigt hatte: den König, der von einem Weibe beherrscht wird und diesem vollständig untergeben ist. Corneille ahmte dieses Gestalt in «*Nicomède*» nach. » *Pierre Corneille und Jean Rotrou*, Leipzig, Weida i. Th., Thomas und Hubert, 1910, p. 82.

(5) Corneille had referred to Attalus II (whom I take to be the prototype of the Attale of *Nicomède*) as «*ce grand roi*», (*Cinna*, III, 4; 995), and he allows Attale on his first appearance in *Nicomède* to repeat two verses from *Cinna* which occur just after the mention of Attale (*cf. Cinna*, III, 4; 1001-2 with *Nicomède* 1, 2; 219-20).

the former of whom plotted against the latter with the aid of the Romans, but in the end reversed his attitude, on the discovery of the perfidious nature of Roman policy, which aimed at his own destruction after that of his brother. This incident not only appealed to Corneille because of preference for uniting rivals by bonds of friendship, as in *Rodogune* and *Héraclius*, but it gave him a new idea, which resulted in the centering of the play around the foreign policy of Rome. He adopted the name of Attalus for the stepbrother of Nicomède, allowed him to come under the influence of Rome, which promised aid in opposition to his brother, and made him change his policy through the discovery of the perfidy of Rome. The famous verse which expresses the thought around which the play centers,

Rome ne m'aime pas : elle hait Nicomède
(IV, 5 ; 1456),

is spoken by Attale and based on the words of Stratius, the good counsellor of Attalus, in his dealings with his brother Eumenes :

« These very men, » he continued, « who not through friendship for him, but enmity to Eumenes, had instigated him to the adoption of such measures.... »(6)

To represent the evil influence of Rome, Corneille hit upon the happy thought of using Flamininus, who he found had visited the court of Prusias. With the addition of the two secondary characters, Araspe, the evil counsellor of Prusias and Arsinoé, based to some extent on Palmiras in *Cosroès*, whom the king blames for the evil results of his state policy, and Cléone, *confidente* of the queen, the list of characters is complete. In summary, then : the rôles, with the exception of that of Flamininus, correspond to those of *Cosroès* ; Attale is based on Attalus, a contemporary prince of Pergamus, and the incident in which he figures in Livy suggests the theme of Rome's foreign policy.

In developing the plot, the dramatist supposed that Annibal

(6) Livy's *Roman History*, tr. by Spillan, Edmonds, and M' Devitte, London, Bell, 1906-09, 4 v., XLV, 19.

had taught Nicomède the science of warfare, not an improbable supposition since the defeated Carthagenian had taken refuge at the court of Prusias and had trained the army of that king (7). The pupil of Hannibal then finds himself confronted by Flaminius, whom Corneille considered the son of Caius Flaminius, defeated at Lake Trasimenus by the Carthagenian. A new situation develops, a second Trasimenus, a psychological conflict in which greatness of soul will combat perfidy and double-dealing, again resulting in the defeat of Rome. Historically, Nicomedes II does not seem to have profited by the example of Hannibal, for, when he met the ambassadors of Rome on one occasion, he showed a servile attitude. At this time he was associated with Mithridates the Great, who, on the contrary, displayed a fearless and defiant spirit (8), such as that which Corneille decided to give to his hero Nicomède. Under the influence of Hannibal and Mithridates, the son of Prusias is transformed into a great warrior and a worthy opponent of the « son » of Caius Flaminius.

It seems from the evidence in hand that the play under discussion must first have been conceived along the lines of *Cosroès*, *Théodore*, and *Rodogune*, with a theme of thwarted ambition; and then through suggestions from the historians, somewhat as outlined above, it underwent transformations, so that in its final form it presented a conflict of virtue sustained by courage on the one hand, and of vice on the other hand as displayed in the perfidious foreign policy of Rome.

Other historical material on which Corneille may have drawn includes the letter from Scipio Africanus to Prusias setting forth the generous policy of Rome toward her allies (Livy and Polybius), details of the character of Flaminius in Plutarch's *Lives*, the account of Prusias in Dio, and a letter in Sallust from Mithridates to King Arsaces, in which he calls on him for help in resisting the Romans, who, he says, should not be regarded as unconquerable, an attitude assumed by Nicomède. The use

(7) See citation from a life of Hannibal by Charles de l'Escluse given below as parallel to *Nic.*, I, 1; 30.

(8) For the account of the meeting of the two men with the Roman ambassadors see Justin, XXXVII, 4.

of irony, more conspicuous in this than in any other tragedy thus far treated, may have been suggested by the account in Polybius (9) of the Congress of Nicaea, B.C. 198-197, at which Flamininus was the chief spokesman for the Romans and Philip for the Greeks, and where there was great display of «sarcastic banter» and repartee.

In working out the plot Corneille made the two brothers rivals for the hand of a princess as in *Rodogune* and allowed Nicomède to show magnanimity toward his enemies, as did Auguste (*Cinna*).

In the opening scene Arsinoé, the second wife of Prusias, is represented as dominating her husband as did Marcelle in *Théodore* and Sira in Rotrou's *Cosroès*, the former being the prototype, probably, of the latter. There is no historical record that Laodice was at the court of Prusias or that a brother of Nicomède was in love with her (I, 1; 17), hence the situation is probably based on a similar one in *Rodogune*. Unhistorical also is the return of Attale from Rome, where he had been held as a hostage, in recompense for the surrender of Annibal to Flamininus (I, 1; 18-22). Accounts agree that Flamininus compelled Prusias to withdraw his protection of Hannibal living near the court of Bithynia, and Justin says that the Carthaginian drank poison to avoid being taken alive by the Romans (10):

Que le Roi par son ordre eût livré ce grand homme,
S'il n'eût par le poison lui-même évité Rome

(I, 1; 23-4).

Nicomède represented, contrary to the historical Nicomedes II, as a «grand conquérant» (vs. 4), speaks of his taking Cappadocia, an event that actually took place after his father's death:

NICOMÈDE.

Par mon dernier combat je voyois
réunie

La Cappadoce entière avec la Bithynie.

Nic., I, 1; 27-8.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, proceeded to occupy Cappadocia, while it was left defenceless by the death of its sovereign (11).

(9) XVIII, 1-9. For further treatment see comments on act III below.

(10) Justin, XXXII, 4.

(11) Justin, *History of the World*, tr. by J. S. Watson, London, Bell, 1902, XXXVIII, 1.

Nicomède has returned to court because of his wrath at the death of his master Annibal (I, 1 ; 30), who had instructed him in the art of warfare, an inference drawn from the fact that the defeated Carthagenian had spent his last days in training the army of Prusias :

En ce lieu [Bithynie] là se tenoit Hannibal, ne s'adonnant point à l'oisiueté, mais passant le temps à exercer les mariniers, piquer chevaux, et duire et dresser ses soudards. Quelques auteurs escriuent qu'en ce temps là Prusias faisoit la guerre à Eumenes Roy de Pergame qui estoit allié et ami du peuple Romain et qu'il fist Hannibal Capitaine general de son armee de mer (12).

Justin speaks of a victory which Hannibal helped Prusias to gain (13), and Nepos says that the former « did nothing but excite the king [Prusias] to arms, and animate him against the Romans (14) ». Furthermore, before going to Prusias, Hannibal had offered his services to King Antiochus from whom he received a small army, according to Charles de l'Escluse, who adds,

En ceste maniere Hannibal, bāni et fugitif de son pais, esmouuoit par tout le moude guerre contre les Romains (15).

That Nicomède was entrusted with an army by Prusias (I, 1 ; 31) is unhistorical and due to the fact that Corneille wished to make of his hero a great warrior. Historians agree that the soldiers rallied to the support of Nicomedes and deserted Prusias shortly before the latter's death (16). That Flaminius should remain, after the death of Annibal, at the court of Prusias on other business,

Lui [Annibal] mort, ce long séjour prétend quelque autre chose
(I, 1 ; 36),

is in keeping with the historical rôle of Flamininus, who was

(12) *Les Vies de Hannibal et Scipion l'Africain*, traduites par Charles de l'Escluse, printed as a supplement to *Les Vies des hommes illustres*, tr. par Jacques Amyot, G. Laemaire, Lyon, 1594, tome second, p. 998. (Harvard Library).

(13) XXXII, 4.

(14) Cornelius Nepos, « Hannibal », in the *Lives of Eminent Commanders*, tr. by J. S. Watson, London, Bell, 1902, sec. 10.

(15) *Op. cit.*, pp. 994-5. See also Justin, XXXI, 3 and 4.

(16) See Justin, Appian, and Dio.

used by Rome as an ambassador to secure the allegiance of her allies (17). Corneille now supposes that he espouses the cause of the queen, who has ambitions for her son Attale,

Attale, qu'en otage ont nourri les Romains

(I, 1; 49).

The sons of Prusias by his second marriage had actually lived at Rome (18), but we are not told by historians that one was held as a hostage (19), or that his return was in exchange for the death of Hannibal. Corneille had in mind Attalus II of Pergamus, who was brought up as a young man at Rome and whom the Senate tried to use in gaining control of Pergamus, promising him the kingdom if he would join in dethroning his brother Eumenes (20). That Attale should be his brother's rival for the hand of Laodice is Corneille's invention, based on a similar situation in *Rodogune*, the two suitors in each case being rival claimants to the throne. That Laodice was queen of Armenia (I, 1; 63) is not true, since she was apparently ruling in Cappadocia when Nicomedes took that kingdom (21). Her appearance at the court as the queen of a captured country would have put her in the position of a prisoner of war, as was Rodogune, a situation which Corneille apparently sought to avoid. She is in the play a *protégée* of Prusias entrusted with the execution of her father's will, as was Pompée with that of the father of Cléopâtre (*Pompée*).

LAODICE.

Si de mes jeunes ans il est dépositaire,
C'est pour exécuter les ordres de mon
père.

Nic., I, 1; 59-60.

PTOLOMÉE.

De l'abord de Pompée elle espère
autre issue.
Sachant que de son père il a le tes-
tament....

Pompée, I, 2; 214-15.

(17) See Plutarch's life of Flamininus. This historian says that Flamininus came to the court of Prusias on business and found there Hannibal, whose death he then demanded. Others say that the Roman went to Bithynia for the purpose of accomplishing his death.

(18) Justin XXXIV, 4.

(19) Livy (XXXVII, 25) speaks of Philip's son who was returned to his father after being held as hostage by the Romans.

(20) Livy, XLV, 19-20 and Polybius, XXX, 1-3.

(21) Justin, XXXVIII, 1.

Laodice assures Nicomède that as queen she cannot marry a subject, recalling the thought of Antiochus in *Ro logune* with regard to the dignity of the Parthian princess :

LAODICE.

ANTIOCHUS.

... la reine d'Arménie
Est due à l'héritier du roi de Bithynie,
Et ne prendra jamais un cœur assez
abjet
Pour se laisser réduire à l'hymen
d'un sujet.

Cependant, aveuglés dans notre vain
projet,
Nous la faisons tous deux la femme
d'un sujet !

Rodogune, I, 3; 161-2.

Nic., I, 1; 63-6.

The description of the ambitious queen Arsinoé, who will go to any length to carry out her plans (I, 1; 69-74) reminds one of Marcelle in *Théodore* and Sira in *Cosroès*, all three of whom are willing to slay those who stand in their way. Laodice urges Nicomède to be courageous in face of his enemies and assures him that the people are on his side :

LAODICE.

Le peuple ici vous aime, et hait ces
cœurs infâmes.

Nic., I, 1; 115.

Prusias was hated by his subjects on account of his extreme cruelty, while his son, Nicomedes, was very popular among the Bithynians (22).

The abrupt appearance of Attale (I, 2) and his complaints of the cold attitude of Laodice toward his suit resemble a situation in Rotrou's *Venceslas*, II, 2, between Ladislas and Cassandre (23). The comparison which Laodice makes of her two suitors, estimating the one she prefers far above the other whom she is addressing, recalls that of *Théodore* III, 3. Attale replies that he has the support of his father, which is also true of Placide (*Théodore*). Furthermore he calls attention to the support of Rome :

Rome qui m'a nourri vous parlera pour moi

(I, 2; 154).

This serves to introduce the discussion of the dignity of the Roman citizen, whom Rome considered as higher in rank than

(22) Appian's *Roman History*, tr. by Horace White, New York, Macmillan, 1913, II, 245 (« Mith. Wars, » 4.).

(23) Georg Wendt, *op. cit.*, p. 50 calls attention to this parallel.

kings, a subject which Corneille had developed in *Cinna*, III, 4, where the name of Attale (II, 4 ; 995) appears and two verses of which are repeated, with one slight change, in *Nicomède* (24).

Sachez qu'il n'en est point que le ciel
n'ait fait naître
Pour commander aux rois, et pour
vivre sans maître.

Nic. I, 2 ; 219-220.

Sache qu'il n'en est point que le ciel
n'ait fait naître
Pour commander aux rois, et pour
vivre sans maître.

Cinna, III, 4 ; 1001-2.

When Attale reproaches Nicomède (whose identity he is not aware of) for lack of respect, the dialogue recalls a situation in *Cosroès* in which Sira makes a similar complaint against Siroès :

ATTALE.

Insolent ! est-ce enfin le respect qui
m'est dû ?

NICOMÈDE.

Je ne sais de nous deux, Seigneur, qui
l'a perdu.

Nic., I, 2 ; 233-4.

SIRA.

Quoi ! vous, contre mon fils ! vous,
son indigne frère !
Vous, insolent !

.

SIROÈS.

J'ai pour lui le respect qu'il dut avoir
pour moi.

SIRA.

Lui, pour vous !

Cosroès, I, 1.

Arsinoé confronts Nicomède (I, 3) and pretends surprise over his appearance at court. The latter replies that he has brought with him Métrobate who, although the fact is not mentioned in this scene, is one of the men whom Arsinoé has sent to the camp of Nicomède, ostensibly, but only in pretense, to assassinate him. In *Cosroès* (III, 1) Sira actually sends to Siroès, her stepson and the heir to the throne, a dagger and poison, with orders to choose between them. When Attale learns that he has unwittingly offended his elder brother, he apologizes, and Nicomède generously pardons him and furthermore offers him the opportunity of winning the hand of Laodice on equal terms. He sets aside for the time the advantages of elder brother

(24) Voltaire noted this repetition of verses (see M.-L., V, 520), but the reference to Attale has been overlooked.

and heir to the throne, since he is desirous of putting to the test the relative merits of Annibal's training and that of Rome :

Et nous verrons ainsi qui fait mieux un brave homme,
Des leçons d'Annibal, ou de celles de Rome

(I, 3 ; 275-6).

The subject of the play is thus suggested, namely, the resistance of the East to Rome. Furthermore, the generous attitude which Nicomède takes toward his rival reminds one of the two brothers in *Rodogune*, who agree that love for the princess shall not destroy their friendship (*Rod.*, I, 3). Arsinoé explains to Attale (I, 4) her reason for sending men in the guise of assassins to the camp of Nicomède, knowing that the latter would be angered and would commit the crime of returning to court without the authorization of the king. She then reveals to her *confidante* her motives for entrusting to Attale knowledge of her plans for his advancement at the expense of Nicomède (I, 5), saying that she fears that the young man reared in the virtues of Rome would not consent to a crime :

Je crains qu'a la vertu par les Romains instruit
De ce que je prépare il ne m'ôte le fruit,
Et ne conçoive mal qu'il n'est fourbe ni crime
Qu'un trône acquis par là ne rende légitime

(I, 5 ; 289-92).

In the course of the play the disciple of Rome shows himself worthy of its best traditions, saying to his mother,

Madame, je n'ai vu que des vertus à Rome (25).

Corneille had in mind the experience of Attalus II of Pergamus, who came under the good and the evil influences of Rome when a young man, but in the end followed the former ; for in his decision to remain faithful to his brother Eumenes he was influenced by the words of Stratius, who showed him that in the last analysis the Romans would applaud acts of virtue even when disadvantageous to their own political ambitions :

« These very men, » he continued, « who not through friendship for him [Attalus], but enmity to Eumenes, had instigated him to the adoption of such

(25) *Nic.*, III, 8 ; 1116.

measures [conspiracy against his brother], would praise his affection and firmness, if he preserved to the last his allegiance to his brother (26). »

When Cléone expresses her misgivings about the existence of Roman virtue, basing her opinion on the cowardly act of killing the aged Annibal, Arsinoé excuses the Romans, placing the blame on herself and Flaminius :

Ne leur impute pas une telle injustice :
Un Romain seul l'a faite, et par mon artifice

(I, 5; 295-6).

Marty-Laveaux agrees with Naudet in objecting to « la fausse apologie de Rome, que dément toute l'histoire » (27), and cites a passage from Livy in support of the contention that the Romans were in favor of the crime (28). He overlooks the fact that the accounts differ and that Plutarch in his life of Flamininus says that many of the Roman senators « thought the conduct of Titus [Flamininus] odious, officious, and cruel » (29). Corneille was not necessarily trying to palliate the crimes of his « chers Romains », as Naudet would have us believe, but was making a choice among divergent views, as he had done in *Cinna* in regard to the character of Auguste. Again he may have been following his source in making the Flaminius of the play the son of Caius Flaminius, defeated at Lake Trasimenus :

Car je crois que tu sais que quand
L'aigle romaine
Vit choir ses légions au bord de Tra-
simène,
Flaminius son père en étoit général.
Nic., I, 5; 307-9.

La veuë de Flaminius lui [à Hannibal] augmentoit dauantage la suspicion, lequel il estimoit estre le plus grand ennemi qu'il eust en Rome, tant publiquemēt pour la haine commune de tous les Romains, que particulièrement pour la memoire de son pere Flaminius, lequel fut tué en la bataille qui se donna aupres de lac Thrasymene (30).

(26) Livy, *Roman History*, XLV, 19.

(27) M.-L., V, 525, n. 2.

(28) *Ibid.*

(29) Plutarch, *Lives*, tr. by B. Perrin, London, Heineman, 1921, « Titus Flamininus, » vol. X, sec. XXI.

(30) Charles de l'Ecluse, *op. cit.*, p. 999. Professor Stanley A. Smith first called attention to the passage in the life of Hannibal in « A Historical Inaccuracy in Corneille's *Nicomède* », *M. P.*, XII (1914-15), 521-526. He used the Clavier edition of Amyot, Paris, 1802, which shows some differences in spelling and one change in wording: the 1594 edition has « veuë », changed in the 1802 edition to « venuë ».

It is possible that Corneille knew this passage, since it appeared in a supplement to Amyot's works, and hence he cannot be accused of inaccuracy. Nevertheless he did change the manner of death of Caius Flaminius, killed, unhistorically, by the hand of Annibal :

Et qu'il [Flaminius] y tomba de la main d'Annibal
(I, 5; 310).

This he did for dramatic reasons : to increase the resentment of Flaminius and give him a real cause for seeking vengeance, as in the case of the death of Toranius, slain, contrary to history, by the hand of Auguste :

Que par sa propre main mon père massacré
(*Cinna*, I, 1; 11).

This situation had been found in the sources of *Le Cid* and *Horace*. That Flaminius had come to Bithynia to prevent the union of that kingdom with Armenia (I, 5; 321-2) is unhistorical, but in keeping with Roman policy. In the closing verses of the first act Arsinoë reveals her plans for accomplishing the downfall of Nicomède, whom she has artfully caused to return to court without the consent of the king, thereby hoping to arouse the anger of the father. With the assistance of Rome she hopes to put Attale on the throne. History is silent about the attitude of the second wife of Prusias toward Nicomedes, and hence the dramatist had a free hand in this respect. In Justin it was Prusias himself who took the leading part in the injustice planned against his eldest son ; and in giving this rôle to the stepmother Corneille was following the plot of *Cosroès*. That Prusias would be easily swayed by the wishes of Rome (I, 1; 353-4), is in keeping with his character as portrayed by several instances of servility when in the presence of Roman authorities, such as the following :

It was said that at home, too, whenever their [the Romans'] envoys came to him, he did them obeisance, calling himself a freedman of the people, and often he would put on the cap of liberty (31).

(31) Dio's *Roman History*, tr. by Earnest Cary, London, Heineman, 1914, II, p. 357-8.

Act II follows the sources in showing Flaminius on an embassy to Prusias, the servile attitude of the king in the presence of Roman authorities, and Rome's foreign policy as interpreted by her ambassador. It departs from them in depicting Nicomède's defiant attitude towards the representative of Rome.

The unauthorized return of Nicomède is Corneille's invention for motivating the historical suspicions of Prusias in regard to his son (II, 1), the cause of which according to Appian was the growing popularity of the young man :

Prusias was hated by his subjects on account of his extreme cruelty, while his son, Nicomedes, was very popular among the Bithynians. Thus the latter fell under the suspicion of Prusias, who sent him to live at Rome (32).

As in this citation from Appian, Prusias decides to send Nicomède away :

Le chasser avec gloire

(II, 1 ; 457).

In the presence of his father Nicomède pretends that the reason for his return is his desire to acquaint him in person with his recent conquest. In making of Nicomède a great conqueror Corneille first gave him Cappadocia, which he gained and held for a short time after his father's death, and the throne of Arsaces (Parthia) :

La Cappadoce est vôtre et le trône d'Arsace (33).

Later he gave him Pontus and withdrew Parthia :

Après la Cappadoce heureusement unie
Aux royaumes du Pont et de la Bithynie

(II, 2 ; 467-8),

and in the following scene Flaminius speaks of Galatia as a conquest of Nicomède :

Le Pont sera pour vous avec la Galatie
Avec la Cappadoce, avec la Bithynie (34).

History is silent about the conquests of Nicomedes II before his

(32) Appian, *op. cit.* (« Mith. Wars, » 4), II, 245.

(33) *Nic.*, II, 2 ; 467 (editions of 1651-56).

(34) *Nic.* II, 3 ; 699-700.

father's death, and tells us that he won Cappadocia, which he held for a short time; and as an ally of Mithridates he took Paphlagonia (35), but surrendered his share of that kingdom on the protest of Rome. It is difficult to determine whether Cornéille had any one in mind in describing the conquests of Nicomède, but the name of Mithridates suggests itself, since he was king of Pontus and either conquered a number of small kingdoms or had them as allies :

Tigranes of Armenia is his (Mithridates's) son-in-law and Arsaces of Parthia his ally (36).

After they had finished speaking they did not wait to hear what the Senate and people of Rome would decide about such a great war, but began to collect forces from Bithynia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and the Galatians of Asia (37).

Nicomède requests the privilege of conducting Laodice to her kingdom of Armenia (II, 2 ; 516-520). As we have seen, she was not queen of that country, but was ruling in Cappadocia, apparently, when it was taken by Nicomedes II (38). Fearful of Roman authorities, as depicted by historians, Prusias tells his son to represent him in meeting the ambassador Flaminius (II, 2).

Scene 3 shows Flaminius in his historical rôle of ambassador to Bithynia, and furthermore shows him in the presence of Eastern opposition, which he did not meet at the court of Prusias. Nicomède displays a defiance worthy of Mithridates, and Flaminius his customary tact in dealing with the Eastern states. According to Plutarch's *Life of Flaminius*, the visit of the Roman to the court of Prusias came toward the end of his public career, after he had been mainly instrumental in subduing Philip of Macedon and Antiochus. In Bithynia he met little opposition to his will. Antiochus, however, had appeared as a more formidable enemy, since he was supported by the advice of Hannibal, whose influence Flaminius had to combat. It was, therefore, in conformity with the spirit of his-

(35) Justin, XXXVII, 4.

(36) Appian, *op. cit.*, (« Mith. Wars, » 15), II, 265.

(37) *Ibid.* (« Mith. Wars, » 17), II, 267. This passage describes the preparation of the first Mithridatic war.

(38) Justin, XXXVIII, 1.

tory to confront him with a disciple of the Carthaginian general and to give that rôle to a son of Prusias, since Hannibal had trained the soldiers of the Bithynian king. Where Corneille departs from history is in making Nicomède defiant in the presence of the Roman ambassador, a rôle which belonged to Mithridates, as is seen in the following incident :

Entering into an alliance with Nicomedes, he [Mithridates] invaded Paphlagonia, and divided it, after it was conquered, among the allies. But when information reached the senate that it was in possession of two kings, they sent ambassadors to both, desiring that « the country should be restored to its former condition ». Mithridates, thinking himself now a match for the power of the Romans, haughtily replied, that « the kingdom had belonged to his father by inheritance, and he wondered that a dispute, which had never been raised against his father, should be raised against himself » ; and, not at all alarmed by threats, he seized also on Galatia. As for Nicomedes, he replied that « as he could not maintain that he had any right to the country, he would restore it to its legitimate sovereign » (39).

We see from this that Nicomedes yielded to the demands of the Roman ambassadors, whereas Mithridates speaks the language of Nicomède of the play :

De quoi se mêle Rome, et d'où prend le sénat,
Vous vivant, vous régnant, ce droit sur votre État ?
(II, 3 ; 557-8),

and that Mithridates took Galatia, which Nicomède had conquered :

Le Pont sera pour vous avec la Galatie
(II, 3 ; 699-).

Prusias becomes alarmed at his son's defiance of Rome and urges him to display greater respect :

Ah ! ne me brouillez point avec la République :
Portez plus de respect à de tels alliés
(II, 3 ; 564-5).

Although the attitude of Prusias had at times been defiant, yet we are told by Livy that he was induced to earn Roman friendship through the efforts of Scipio, who wrote a letter,

urging the invariable practice of the Roman people of augmenting.... the grandeur of kings in alliance with them [and] ... induced Prusias to earn their friendship (40).

(39) Justin, XXXVII, 4.

(40) Livy, XXXVII, 25.

Nicomède mentions Scipion, saying that, if Attale wishes to assume the command of the army, he will serve as his lieutenant, as did the famous Roman in regard to his brother :

Je lui prête mon bras, et veux dès maintenant,
S'il daigne s'en servir, être son lieutenant.
L'exemple des Romains m'autorise à le faire :
Le fameux Scipion le fut bien de son frère

(II, 3 ; 601-4).

Flaminius suggests to Nicomède that he follow the example of Scipion in showing an unselfish interest in his conquests instead of desiring to keep them as his own (II, 3 ; 665-680). Scipio in his letter to Prusias had praised the generosity of Flaminius :

Philip and Nabis, avowed enemies, were conquered in war by Titus Quinctius ; nevertheless, they were left in possession of their kingdoms (41) ;

and Flaminius now shows the same spirit in telling Nicomède that he need not fear the loss of his conquests :

Le Pont sera pour vous avec la Galatie,
Avec la Cappadoce, avec la Bithynie

(II, 3 ; 699-700).

It is probable, therefore, that Corneille had in mind the letter of Scipio Africanus to Prusias, and it is interesting to note that Flaminius praises Scipion and uses an incident in his public career to bring Bithynie to his will, just as Scipio had praised Flaminius and used him as an example for the same purpose. The second act ends with an unhistorical reference to the authority which Prusias exerts in regard to the destinies of Laodice, the king assuring Flaminius that he will aid him in accomplishing the union of Attale with the Armenian princess.

The third act is to a great extent Corneille's invention. It presents Laodice as animated by the spirit of independence and defiance which Corneille had given to Nicomède. Attale is represented as following the path of virtue which he had found at Rome, and Flaminius is shown in his historical rôle of diplomat. For the presentation of a conference between him and

(41) *Ibid.*

the Eastern potentates the dramatist had ample material in Plutarch's *Flaminius* and in the account of the Congress of Nicaea in which Flaminius represented Rome. In the play as at this Congress irony is one of the striking features.

In scene 1 of act III Prusias acts in behalf of his son by a second marriage as in Justin, but his threat to invade Armenia if Laodice refuses to marry his son is unhistorical. In the following scene (III, 2) Flaminius tries in vain to bend her to his will. First he pretends to give her the advice of a friend,

J'ose donc comme ami vous dire en confidence
(III, 2; 815),

recalling a passage in Plutarch's *Flaminius*, which attributes to the Roman ambassador the power of winning over the Eastern nations by « persuasion and friendly intercourse » (42). At the suggestion that Prusias may use his army against Armenia in case Laodice incur the displeasure of the king, the princess replies that the army and people are unfavorable to him, which is historically true. Flaminius, finding that Laodice is not to be deceived by a show of friendly advice, now tries veiled threats, using arguments with the proud queen which would be more suitable for Prusias, to whom Scipio wrote in a similar tone. He tells her that the only means of assuring a continuance of regal power is through an alliance with Rome :

Qu'être allié de Rome, et s'en faire un appui,
C'est l'unique moyen de régner aujourd'hui
(III, 2; 877-8).

Scipio had persuaded Prusias to ally himself with Rome, citing the example of the petty Spanish chieftains who had profited thereby :

« The petty chieftains in Spain, » he said, « who had been received into alliance, he had left kings (43). »

The ironical reply which Flaminius makes to Laodice (III, 2; 867-871) is one of many of the same nature in the play, and this

(42) Plutarch, *Lives*, vol. X, p. 327 (« Flaminius, » II).

(43) Livy, XXXVII, 25.

form of discourse may have been suggested by the report of Polybius of the Congress of Nicaea, B.C. 196-197, in which Flamininus represented the Romans and Philip the Greeks (44). The speeches of the latter are spirited and often ironical or sarcastic, his shafts now aimed at Alexander of Asia, now at Flamininus. The Roman ambassador sometimes smiles at the « sarcastic banter » of Philip, and sometimes indulges in repartee. Philip's defiance, resembling that of Nicomède and Laodice of the play, is confined generally to his fellow countrymen. He preserves a more respectful attitude toward Flamininus. Speaking against the ambitions of his enemies, the Aetolians, Philip aims a shaft at the Romans :

But the most outrageous part of their conduct is that they try to rival Rome, and bid me entirely evacuate Greece ! The demand in itself is sufficiently haughty and dictatorial : still, in the mouths of Romans, it is tolerable, but in that of Aetolians intolerable.... Upon Flamininus laughing at these words, Philip proceeded (45).

After a certain speech of Philip's, Polybius adds :

Now Flamininus was much amused at Philip's sarcastic banter ; but not wishing the others to think so, he retaliated on him by a sarcasm also, saying : « Of course you are alone, Philip : for you have killed all the friends likely to give you the best advice » (46).

In this play, as in *Héraclius*, Corneille allowed himself certain anachronisms, such as the placing of the destruction of Carthage, which occurred in 146 B. C., before the embassy of Flamininus to the court of Prusias in 183 B. C. :

Carthage étant détruite....

(III, 2 ; 905.)

Then, too, Rome was not yet mistress of the world :

Et Rome est aujourd'hui la maîtresse du monde

(III, 2 ; 908).

Irritated by the lengthy ordeal to which Laodice has been

(44) Polybius, XVIII, 1-9.

(45) Polybius, *The Histories*, tr. by E. S. Shuckburgh, London, Macmillan, 1889, 2 v., XVIII, 5-6 (II, 207).

(46) *Ibid.* XVIII, 7, (II, 208).

subjected, Nicomède enters and dismisses in a haughty manner the Roman ambassador (III, 3), recalling the attitude of Mithridates toward the Roman envoys :

Mithridates, thinking himself now a match for the power of the Romans, haughtily replied (47).

Nicomède, on the contrary, showed great respect for the Romans and acquiesced in their demands. Furthermore, Flaminius does not show the spirit which historians attributed to him :

As to his disposition, he [Flaminius] is said to have been quick to show anger (48).

Flaminius sprang at once from his seat, and said, with some heat, « Cease this trifling, Phineas ! » Polybius, XVIII, 37.

He accuses Nicomède of losing his temper and insulting him, an ambassador, then warns him of the dangers of offending Rome. With the departure of Flaminius Nicomède tells of the disclosure made to Prusias of the attempt of Arsinoé to have him assassinated (III, 4). He is unaware of the fact that the queen had instructed Zénon and Métrobate to pretend to be on such a mission in order to excite the suspicion of Nicomède and force him to return to court without first obtaining the royal permission to do so. Historically Prusias had planned to have his son killed, just as Sira, the stepmother in *Cosroès*, plots the death of Siroès. Corneille speaks of this change in the *Au Lecteur* :

Les assassins [dans Justin] qui découvrirent à ce prince [Nicomède] les sanglants desseins de son père m'ont donné jour à d'autres artifices pour le faire tomber dans les embûches que sa belle-mère lui avoit préparées (49).

The tilt between the two brothers (III, 6) is somewhat like a scene in *Cosroès*, V, 3, in the mutual accusations of lack of good faith and in the use of irony. The representation of Nicomède as a great conqueror shows no regard for history :

De trois sceptres conquis, du gain de six batailles,
Des glorieux assauts de plus de cent murailles....
(III, 6 ; 1019-20).

(47) Justin, XXXVII, 4.

(48) Plutarch, *Flaminius*, I.

(49) M.-L., V, 503.

Arsinoé's joy at her apparent triumph in her plan to rob Nicomède of his right to the throne and give it to her son (III, 8) is like that of Sira in a similar situation (*Cosroès*, III, 1). In conversation with her son Attale, however, she is disappointed at finding lack of cooperation, since he is unwilling to be guided by the dictates of court intrigue and to gain a throne through crime. In *Cosroès*, however, Mardesane yields to the ambitions of his mother and allows himself to be proclaimed king. Respect for honor and refusal to participate in the criminal ambitions of a mother are motifs of *Rodogune*. However, Corneille must have had in mind Attalus, afterwards king of Pergamus, for not only was he a friend of Nicomedes, assisting him in gaining the throne from his father when the latter was plotting against him (50), but he finally refused to listen to those who promised to give him the throne of his brother Eumenes, being persuaded that even the Romans, who were urging the crime, would approve his fidelity. Hence, he exclaims, as his prototype might have done,

Madame, je n'ai vu que des vertus à Rome
(III, 8 ; 1116) (51).

The fourth act deals with the disabusing of Attale in regard to Roman friendship, and his decision to be faithful to his brother, based on the incident of Attalus of Pergamus. The false accusations of Arsinoé are like those of Sira in *Cosroès*, and the decision of Prusias to crown Attale and send Nicomède to Rome has an historical background.

The first three scenes are the dramatist's invention. Prusias tries in vain to settle the differences between his wife and her stepson. Arsinoé pretends that she has been falsely accused by Nicomède, whose interests she says she has always tried to further, but the latter replies that whatever help she has given him has had the ulterior motive of ambition for Attale. Likewise, Marcelle was prompted by ambition for her daughter when placing her stepson on the throne of Egypt (52). Arsinoé falsely

(50) Appian, *op. cit.*, II, 243-51 (« Mith. Wars, » 3-7).

(51) Cf. the comments above on I, 5.

(52) *Théodore*, I, 1.

accuses Nicomède of calumny, just as Sira accused Siroès of an attempt on her life, of which he was not guilty (*Cosroès*, II, 1). Giving credence to the words of his wife, Prusias declares Attale king of Pontus and his sole heir (IV, 4). In Justin he disinherits Nicomedes in favor of children of a second wife :

PRUSIAS.

Je le fais roi de Pont, et mon seul
héritier.

Nic., IV, 4 ; 1377.

Prusias conceived a resolution to kill his son Nicomedes, with a desire to benefit his younger children by a second marriage. Justin, XXXIV, 4.

Nicomède he decides to send to Rome as Prusias had done when he first became suspicious of his son :

PRUSIAS.

Et quant à ce rebelle, à ce courage
fier,
Rome entre vous et lui jugera de
l'outrage ;
Je veux qu'au lieu d'Attale il lui serve
d'otage.

Nic., IV, 4 ; 1378-80.

Thus the latter [Nicomedes] fell under the suspicion of Prusias, who sent him to live at Rome.

Appian, *Rom. H.*, II, 245 (« Mith. Wars, » 4).

The historical order of events is reversed : Prusias had sent his son to Rome before he decided to kill him. In *Cosroès* the king acquiesces in the demand of his second wife to crown her son and permits her to arrest and plan the death of her stepson, the heir to the throne (*Cosroès*, II, 2, 3, and 4). Attale now expresses his joy at the prospect of becoming king, thanks the Roman ambassador for his help, and attributes his good fortune to the friendship of the Roman people ; but when he asks for the hand of Laodice, he meets with the opposition of Flaminus, who tells him that as king he cannot count on the aid of Rome in the marriage with a queen. Disillusioned, he sees that Rome has been actuated by hatred for Nicomède rather than by friendship for him :

Rome ne m'aime pas : elle hait Nicomède

(IV, 5 ; 1456).

Likewise Attalus found that Rome was trying to use him as a tool against his brother :

« These very men, » he [Stratius, friend of Eumenes and counsellor of Attalus] continued, « who not through friendship for him, but enmity to Eumenes, had instigated him to the adoption of such measures.... » Livy, XLV, 19.

He was also told that the kingdom of his brother could be saved only through harmony between himself and Eumenes :

Besides, a new storm has fallen on the kingdom [Pergamus], from the insurrection of the Gauls, which could scarcely be resisted by the most perfect harmony and union of the brothers. Livy, XLV, 19.

And Attale of the play realizes that union with his brother constitutes the only road to safety :

Soyons à notre tour de leur grandeur jaloux,
Et comme ils font pour eux faisons aussi pour nous
(IV, 6 ; 1477-8).

In *Cosroès* the sequence of events is reversed : the brothers are at first united in opposition to the ambitions of the queen, but Mardesane is won over and finally comes to an open break with Siroès. The most potent factor in Attale's change of heart is his realization of the magnanimity of his brother :

Le ciel nous l'a donné trop grand, trop magnanime,
Pour souffrir qu'aux Romains il serve de victime
(IV, 6 ; 1471-2).

Polybius speaks of the influence of Eumenes over Attalus and his brothers, whose loyalty he was able to keep :

[Eumenes] had three brothers grown up and active, and he kept all four [*sic*] of them loyal to himself, and acting as guards of his person and preservers of the kingdom : and that is a thing of which there are very rare instances in history (53).

The fifth act is composed from suggestions in the historians dealing with the family of Prusias, with Attalus of Pergamus, and probably with Mithridates the Great. In the final scene all the enemies of Nicomède are won over by his magnanimity, as were those of Auguste in *Cinna*.

Attale, who has resolved to save his brother, keeps his plan secret by feigning acquiescence in the demands of Rome (V, 1). Arsinoé tries to console Attale for the loss of the hope of

(53) Polybius, *Histories*, vol. II. pp. 463-4 (XXXII, 22).

winning Laodice by suggesting that there are many others who would gladly accept him, a situation of frequent occurrence in Corneille's plays, and found also in Mairet's *Sophonisbe* :

ARSINOË.

SCIPION [à Massinisse].

Porte, porte ce cœur à de plus douces chaînes.

Sophonisbe n'est pas la dernière des fâmes,

Puisque te voilà roi, l'Asie a d'autres reines,

Assez d'autres encor sont dignes de vos flames.

Qui loin de te donner des rigueurs à souffrir,

Mairet, *Soph.*, V, 6 ; 1732-3.

T'épargneront bientôt la peine de t'offrir.

Nous n'avons qu'un honneur, il est tant de maîtresses.

Nic., V, 1 ; 1491-4.

Le Cid, III, 6 ; 1058 (54).

We now hear of the uprising of the people directed by Laodice :

Ces mutins ont pour chefs les gens de Laodice

(V, 3 ; 1559).

Appian says that Attalus of Pergamus entered Bithynia with his followers and led the mutiny against Prusias :

The forces of Attalus at once made an incursion into Bithynia, the inhabitants of which gradually took sides with the invaders. Appian's *Rom. Hist.*, II, 49 (« Mith. Wars, » 6).

Hence Corneille substituted the forces of Laodice for those of Attalus. In describing the uprising, of which historians give few details, the account of a similar mutiny against Mithridates in favor of his son (55), as related by Appian, was probably used. The people demand Nicomède for king, uttering loud cries as in Appian's account of the demand for the son of Mithridates :

(54) Cf. *Horace*, I, 2 ; 146 and IV, 3 ; 1179-80 ; *Polyeucte*, II, 1 ; 390 ; *Othon*, III, 3 ; 994-5 ; *Tite et Bérénice*, I, 2 ; 249-50 ; and note 17 of the foregoing chapter on *Le Cid*.

(55) Corneille may have had before him La Calprenède's *Mort de Mithridate*, « first played probably in 1635 ». See « La Calprenède Dramatist », by H. Carrington Lancaster, *Mod. Phil.*, XVIII, 124-130 for the dating and a study of this play, of which the « principal source is Appian ». In *Cosroès*, II, 4, the people are said to be against the king and in favor of his elder son, but there are no details of an uprising. Wendt, who considers Justin XXXIV the only historical source of Corneille and overlooks Appian, says that the revolt motif is inspired solely by *Cosroès*, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

Tout le peuple à grands cris demande
Nicomède.

Nic., V, 4 ; 1564.

Mithridates, being awakened by the noise, sent messengers out to inquire what the shouters wanted. The latter made no concealment, but said, « We want your son to be king ». Appian, *R. H.*, II, 453 (« *Mith. Wars.*, » 110).

The people begin by putting to death those whom they consider guilty, as in Appian they had taken the initiative in punishing the offenders :

Il commence lui-même à se faire
raison,
Et vient de déchirer Métrobatte et
Zénon.

Nic., V, 4 ; 1565-6.

His fellow-conspirators (*i. e.* of Pharnaces) were captured and put to the torture. Appian, II, 451.

In both cases the old king thinks of viewing the uprising from a high portico. Furthermore, the situation in *Médée* is suggested, the parent wishing to slay a son in vengeance and to display the evidence :

PRUSIAS

Et du haut d'un balcon, pour calmer
la tempête,
Sur ses nouveaux sujets faisons voler
sa tête.

Nic., V, 5 ; 1587-8.

The king [Mithridates] saw these things [the uprising and crowning of Pharnaces] from a high portico. Appian, II, 453.

MÉDÉE, en haut sur un balcon.

Lève les yeux, perfide, et reconnois
ce bras

Qui t'a déjà vengé de ces petits ingrats.
Médée, V, 6 ; 1539-40.

Of course the desire to slay Nicomède is historical :

Prusias, king of Bithynia, conceived a resolution to kill his son Nicomedes (56).

In each case the father is asked not to put his son to death :

Ah ! Seigneur, c'est tout perdre, et
livrer à sa rage
Tout ce qui de plus près touche votre
courage.

Nic., V, 5 ; 1591-2.

Menophanes persuaded the king that it would not be seemly... to put to death the son [Pharnaces]. Appian, II, 451.

(56) Justin, XXXIV, 4.

Arsinoé suggests that Prusias go before the people and reason with them, a thing which Mithridates had done :

Montrez-vous à ce peuple, et flattant
son courroux,
Amusez-le du moins à débattre avec
vous.

When Mithridates heard this [the
shouts of the people], he went out to
reason with them. Appian, II, 453.

Nic., V, 5 ; 1621-2.

Here the borrowings from Appian's account of the uprising cease. Arsinoé proposes to hasten the departure of Nicomède for Rome, which, as we have seen, occurred before the time of the play. When the queen thinks she has triumphed (V, 6), she suddenly finds herself in the power of Laodice, who has started the uprising and caused the defection of even the royal servants. Likewise the historical Prusias had been forsaken by all :

LAODICE.

N'appréhendez-vous point que tous
vos domestiques.
Ne soient déjà gagnés par mes sourdes
pratiques ?

Prusias, deprived of his throne by
his son, and reduced to a private
station, was forsaken even by his
slaves.

Nic., V, 6 ; 1707-8.

Justin, XXXIV, 4.

As in Appian Prusias, frightened by the uprising, is reported in flight. *Cf. Nicomède*, V, 7 ; 1961-4 with

Prusias fled to the temple of Zeus

(Appian, II, 251).

In the closing scenes (V, 8 and 9) Corneille rejected the historical death of Prusias by the hand of his son or by that of his emissaries :

While he [Prusias] lived in retirement, he was killed by his son. Justin, XXXIV, 4.

Prusias fled to the temple of Zeus, where he was stabbed by some of the emissaries of Nicomedes. Appian, *Rom. II.* (« Mith. Wars, » 7).

Instead, he allows him to remain on the throne and ends the play as in *Cinna* with the triumph of magnanimity. It is now learned that Attale has rescued his brother from the guards by slaying with his own hand the treacherous Araspe. Nicomède enters triumphant over his enemies and, contrary to their

expectation and deserts, displays the clemency of an Auguste. The effect is the same as in *Cinna* ; all are won over by the hero's magnanimity. Arsinoë's words recall those of Emilie :

ARSINOÉ.

ÉMILIE.

Contre tant de vertu je ne puis le Et je me rends, Seigneur, à ces hautes
[mon cœur] défendre ; bontés.
Il est impatient lui-même de se rendre. *Cinna*, V, 3 ; 1715.
Nic., V, 9 ; 1811-12

Flaminius, too, expresses his admiration and assures Nicomède of the esteem of the Senate :

Prince, qu'à ce défaut vous aurez son estime,
Telle que doit l'attendre un cœur si magnanime
(V, 9 ; 1847-8).

The speech of Flaminius recalls the view of Stratus, referred to before, that the Romans admired virtue (57).

Although the family quarrel is happily terminated, Prusias and his son may still have Rome to reckon with, for Flaminius, as ambassador from the Senate, ends his mission as he did the Congress of Nicaea with a reference to that body as the final authority :

FLAMINIUS.

C'est de quoi le sénat pourra délibérer. But the Roman Consul [Flaminius]
Nic., V, 9 ; 1845. said,... « Not one of the proposals
actually made at present could be
confirmed without the authority of
the senate ».

Polybius, XVIII, 9.

In the reunion of the family the words of Prusias recall those of Auguste in *Cinna* :

PRUSIAS.

AUGUSTE.

Nous autres, réunis sous de meilleurs Qu'on redouble demain les heureux
auspices, sacrifices
Préparons à demain de justes sacri- Que nous leur offrirons sous de
fices. meilleurs auspices.
Nic., V, 9 ; 1851-2. *Cinna*, V, 3 ; 1777-8.

(57) See citation above from Livy, XLV, 19, under comments on *Nicomède*, I, 5.

In conclusion : *Nicomède* was suggested by a contemporary play, Rotrou's *Cosroès*. The theme as first conceived by the dramatist was probably one of thwarted ambition, but subsequent reading of history suggested the subject of Rome's foreign policy and the resistance offered to it by the Eastern kingdoms. The change came about through the substitution of Attalus, brother of King Eumenes, for the shadowy figure of the stepbrother of Nicomedes. Attalus had previously aroused Corneille's interest, as attested by praise of his conduct in *Cinna* (III, 4; 95 ff), and his fidelity to his brother in opposition to Rome suggested the conduct of Attale of the play. Flaminius was then added to represent Rome, and Annibal was made master of Nicomède in training him in the art of warfare and resistance to Rome. The historical Nicomedes, son of Prusias, was abandoned in the characterization of the hero and replaced by Mithridates the Great, a man of greater force of character. Laodice, the fiancée of Nicomedes in Justin, bears this relationship to the hero. The use of irony in the Congress of Nicaea, when Flaminius dealt with the Eastern potentates, probably suggested the method employed in the conferences in the play. The domineering wife is not a new rôle in Corneille's theatre, but resembles Marcelle in *Théodore*; and hence Rotrou's play does not account wholly for her characterization. In addition to Justin, the dramatist used Appian, Livy, Plutarch, Dio, and perhaps Polybius and Charles de l'Escluse. He drew more extensively on details of history than in any previous play. Finally, La Calprenède's *Mort de Mithridate* may have offered suggestions, and *Cinna* was followed in the dénouement. In its final form the play stands apart as an example of vastness of conception and skilful handling of detail, and it differs from *Pompée* in possessing unity of purpose, thanks to the moral problem which the dramatist found in the sources.

CHAPTER XI

PERTHARITE

Pertharite was first represented probably in 1651 (1). Its poor reception led Corneille to retire from the stage for a period of some eight years. He seems to have found the subject in his reading of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* which he names as his principal source (2). He may have come across the story of Perctarit in Paul the Deacon when he was searching for material for *Héraclius*, since that historian makes frequent mention of the principal personages of this play. His decision to dramatise this story was not influenced by the play of a contemporary, so far as is known, but seems traceable to the fact that he saw in it the possibility of giving a play with a dénouement similar to that of *Cinna*. For Grimuald, who becomes the central figure in *Pertharite*, is depicted by Paul as a man capable of generosity toward an enemy, a quality shown by his pardon of those who gave aid to the man who he thought was plotting to take away his throne and his life.

(1) *Nicomède*, which immediately preceded it was acted in 1650 or 1651, and the *privilege* of *Pertharite* is dated December 24, 1651.

(2) Corneille speaks of his sources in the *Au Lecteur* to the play, M.-L., VI, 5-7. He seems to have had the complete work of Paul the Deacon before him, and he found an extract from this historian in Antoine du Verdier's *Diverses leçons*, a collection of excerpts from various historians. He had two other accounts of the events treated in *Pertharite*, one in the *Historiæ barbaricæ* of Erycius Puteanus and the other in the *Histoire de la décadence de l'empire romain* by Flavius Blondus, neither of which has been accessible to the writer. I have been able to examine only the work of Paul the Deacon and the extracts from the historians which are given in Marty-Laveaux.

Paul the Deacon relates that Grimuald, Duke of Beneventum, dispossessed two brothers, Godepert and Perctarit, of their kingdoms. He killed the first with his own hand, thinking that he was acting in self-defense and misled by the treacherous Garipald. He then marched against Perctarit, who fled, leaving behind his wife Rodelinda and their son Cunincpert, both of whom Grimuald sent to Beneventum, where they remained until the death of the duke. He then married the sister of Godepert and Perctarit, known in the play as Edüige, who had been promised to him by Godepert as reward for help against his brother. After wandering from place to place, Perctarit returned to his kingdom, over which ruled Grimuald, and was kindly received by the latter. Although guilty of no hostile intentions toward the man who had dispossessed him of his throne, he fell under the suspicion of the king who was led to believe that « unless he quickly deprived Perctarit of life, he would himself at once lose his kingdom with his life (3) ». Grimuald, therefore, decided to put Perctarit to death, but the latter escaped through a stratagem of Unulf and a valet. When Unulf was apprehended and brought into the presence of the king, the latter asked of those standing around, « What do you think of this man who has committed such things ? » and all answered that « he deserved to die, racked with many torments » (4). But Grimuald was moved by admiration for the fidelity of Unulf and graciously pardoned him and bestowed upon him « many advantages » (5). For some time Perctarit remained away from his kingdom, to which he returned only after the death of Grimuald. He then resumed the throne and sent for his wife and son.

Grimuald's clemency toward Unulf must have appealed to Corneille and suggested the possibilities of a play similar in some respects to *Cinna*. Then, too, there was the false friend Garipald, corresponding somewhat to *Cinna*. In working out the play the dramatist made certain changes in historic fact.

(3) Paul the Deacon, *History of the Langobards*, tr. by W. D. Foulke, New York, Longmans, Green, 1907., p. 211.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 215.

(5) *Ibid.*

He magnifies the achievement of his hero by substituting for the pardon of Unulf the restoration of the throne to Pertharite and keeps Rodelinde and her son at the court of Grimoald at Milan. He did not find it necessary to make additions to the number of personages found in the source.

What the story lacked in regard to love he supplied from his own *Théodore*, arranging the characters in a series of five, the first three of whom suffer from unrequited love, while the last two are bound by mutual affection. There is little in the source which would suggest *Théodore* beyond the fact that Grimoald had been placed under obligations to the family of the woman to whom he became engaged, which is the situation of Placide. Corneille supposes that Grimoald abandons Edüige, to whom he is engaged, for Rodelinde and that Rodelinde remains faithful to the memory of her husband. Likewise Placide abandoned Flavie, to whom he was engaged, for Théodore and Théodore remained faithful to her Heavenly Spouse. Furthermore, in *Pertharite* he adds another rejected lover in the person of Garibalde in love with Edüige, whereas Flavie in *Théodore* has no lover whom she spurns. As means of vengeance for desertion in the case of Edüige he used the favorite « tête » motif, the woman offering her hand as reward for the death of the man who has deserted her. Garibalde, to whom the offer is made, is a better judge of feminine psychology than Don Sanche in *Le Cid* and refuses to accept the offer, knowing that even if successful the reward would not be forthcoming. In depicting Rodelinde Corneille made her a faithful wife, a second Pauline (*Polyencte*), spurning the generous offer of her husband to step aside in favor of his wife's lover. He allows Rodelinde to regard Grimoald as a second Phocas (*Héraclius*), a tyrant desirous of an alliance with the family of the man whose throne he has usurped, not through love, but because of political reasons, guilty of the death of the former ruler and planning ultimately to murder the latter's son, the real heir to the throne. Finally, the ruler's victory over self as seen in the sacrifice of ambition to justice results in victory over his enemies and wins for him general admiration, a dénouement similar to that of *Cinna* or *Nicomède*. The play was composed largely without the stim-

ulus of new ideas from a contemporary play or elsewhere, but from a meagre historical background and motifs from the dramatist's previous tragedies, *Le Cid*, *Cinna*, *Polyeucte*, *Théodore*, and *Héraclius* (6). Although it did not meet with favor, it occupies an important place in the history of the French drama, since it offered suggestions for Racine's *Andromaque* (7).

The first act owes little to Paul the Deacon beyond the historical names and several historical facts, but is developed largely from themes which Corneille had used in previous plays: faithfulness to a husband as in *Polyeucte*, desire for vengeance because of abandonment, as in *Théodore*, and ingratitude as in *Médée* and *Théodore*. In the opening scene Rodelinde is represented as rejecting the love of Grimoald, the usurper of her husband's throne. Her faithfulness to her husband recalls that of Pauline in *Polyeucte* and of Cornélie in *Pompée*. Her rejection of favors from one who has wronged her family recalls Emilie in *Cinna* and Pulchérie in *Héraclius*. To explain the quarrel which took place between the two brothers before the play begins, Unulphe says that Pertharite was the younger and, therefore, did not have a right to share the inheritance during the lifetime of his elder brother: Corneille's invention, apparently, since the sources studied do not reveal which was the elder. Rodelinde indignantly defends her husband, using words which recall those of Pauline in a similar situation:

RODELINDE.

Unulphe, oubliez-vous
Que vous parlez à moi, qu'il étoit mon
époux ?

PAULINE

Mais il est mon époux, et tu parles à
moi.

Polyeucte, III, 2; 788.

Perth., I, 1; 25-6.

She adds that the kingdom was divided between her husband and his brother (I, 1; 37-8), which is historical:

(6) There may be echoes of Rotrou's *Hercule mourant* (see remarks below on act I, sc. 2 and 3), the play which probably suggested the subject of *Médée*, and which, together with *Pertharite*, was used as a source of Racine's *Andromaque* (see Gustave Rudler, « Une source d'*Andromaque*, » *M.L.R.*, XII (1917), 286-301, 438-449).

(7) See remarks below on act II.

Aripert then, after he had ruled at Ticinum for nine years, died, leaving the kingdom to be governed by his two sons, Perctarit and Godepert who were still of youthful age (8).

That the father saw in Gundebert « un cœur assez abjet » (I, 1 ; 41) and that the latter was jealous of his brother Pertharite and started a quarrel with him (I, 1 ; 59-60) is a modification of history, which tells us that the differences between the two brothers were attributable to evil counsellors :

Between these brothers, at the instigation of evil men, quarrels and the kindling of hatreds arose to such a degree that each attempted to usurp the royal power of the other (9).

According to Corneille, Gundebert was defeated by Pertharite and subsequently died, and Grimoald promised to avenge the former (I, 1 ; 62-7). Paul the Deacon, however, attributes the death of Godepert (Gundebert of the play) to the hand of Grimuald, and says that the latter usurped the murdered man's kingdom (10). The dramatist wished to remove from Grimoald the stain of his historical crime. That Grimoald had espoused the cause of Gundebert against his brother in order to win the former's sister, to whom Corneille gives the name of Edüige,

Et pour gagner la sœur à ses desirs trop chère,
Il fallut épouser les passions du frère,

Perth., I, 1 ; 75-6,

is based on Paul :

Wherefore Godepert sent Garipald... to Grimuald... inviting him to come as soon as possible and bring aid to him against his brother Perctarit, and promising to give him his sister, the daughter of the king (11) !

Historically Grimuald marries the sister of Godepert, as actually happens at the end of the play, but there is no evidence of his deserting her for a time. Corneille, therefore, introduced the situation, similar to that of Placide and Flavie in *Théodore*, in which Grimoald received a kingdom from the family of the woman whom he is to marry and subsequently abandoned the

(8) Paul the Deacon, *History of the Langobards*, p. 205 (IV, li).

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 205 (IV, li).

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 206.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 205.

woman for love of another, at the same time retaining the kingdom. Unulphé says of the disappointed ambitions and love of Edüige, abandoned by Grimoald,

Et la princesse alors par un bizarre effet,
Pour l'avoir voulu roi, le perdit tout à fait

(I, 1 ; 109-10),

words which apply equally well to Flavie, abandoned by Placide. The unhistorical report of the death of Pertharite, which later proves false, is introduced to try the constancy of Rodelinde to the memory of her husband.

The meeting between Edüige and Rodelinde (I, 2) is unhistorical. The latter is the innocent cause of the former's plight, but her denial of love for Grimoald fails to allay the suspicions of the woman who has been deserted. The scene recalls *Théodore*, II, 4, and Rotrou's *Hercule Mourant*, II, 3 (12). The « riche tombeau », which Grimoald has erected to the memory of Pertharite (I, 3 ; 245-6) is not suggested by the source. Rotrou's *Hercule Mourant*, which Corneille may have thought of while writing this play, calls for a « tombeau » as part of the stage-setting ; but the connection is very slight. Grimoald, like Placide, is reproached for infidelity and ingratitude (I, 4) toward the person who has given him a kingdom :

EDÜIGE.

MARCELLE [à Placide].

J'ai mis entre tes mains toute la Lombardie.

Vous me devez l'Égypte.

Théod., I, 2 ; 175.

Perth., I, 4 ; 300.

When he offers to provide a husband for the woman whom he can no longer love (I, 4 ; 371-2), the latter replies that she will marry him who kills the man who has deserted her, a variant of the « tête » motif of such frequent occurrence in Corneille's plays :

Traître, je n'en veux point que ta mort ne me donne

(I, 4 ; 375).

(12) Déjanire, wife of Hercule, reproaches Iole, object of her husband's affections. Iole, on the other hand, protests her innocence, asserting, as is true, that she does not love Hercule.

The second act is developed from motifs of Corneille's previous plays. The use of the « tête » episode as means of vengeance in the case of Edüige suggested the addition of a less favored suitor, a rôle given to Garibalde. The chain of rejected lovers is thus increased and contains one more than that in *Théodore*, in which Flavie, who corresponds to Edüige, has no suitor whom she rejects. *Pertharite*, then, has three rejected lovers, *Théodore* has two, and one of the sources of the latter, the Saint Agnes legend, has one. In the present play Garibalde loves Edüige, who loves Grimoald, who loves Rodelinde, who is faithful to her husband. A similar arrangement is found in Racine's *Andromaque* : Oreste loves Hermione, who loves Pyrrhus, who loves Andromaque, who is faithful to the memory of her husband. The indebtedness of the younger French dramatist was first noted by Voltaire, who said, « Il me paraît prouvé que Racine a puisé toute l'ordonnance de sa tragédie d'*Andromaque* dans ce second acte de *Pertharite* », and pointed out a number of resemblances (13). More recently M. Gustave Rudler has shown that Voltaire's statement was exaggerated, since Racine probably used a source unknown to the older French critic, namely, Rotrou's *Hercule mourant*. Furthermore, as has been previously noted, the question of Racine's indebtedness to *Théodore*, one of the sources of *Pertharite*, has not been sufficiently studied (14). In addition to the use of the « tête » motif and the chain of rejected lovers, Corneille allows the perplexed ruler to take counsel of Garibalde, a false friend, as did Auguste in *Cinna*, and depicts him as wavering between duty and the gratifying of a selfish passion. Rodelinde, in an attempt to appeal to his better nature, cites the example of the former Roman emperor :

Comte, c'est un effort à dissiper la gloire
Des noms les plus fameux dont se pare l'histoire,
Et que le grand Auguste ayant osé tenter,
N'osa prendre du cœur jusqu'à l'exécuter

(II, 5; 647-50).

When Edüige offers her hand to Garibalde as a reward for

(13) See M.-L., VI, 36, n. 1.

(14) See remarks in the foregoing chapter on *Théodore*, note 12.

slaying the lover who has deserted her (II, 1), he shows a knowledge of feminine psychology which Don Sanche (*Le Cid*) lacked in a similar situation, and fails to be deceived. He tells Edüige that, if her offending lover is slain, she will experience a reversal of feeling in his favor and that her wrath will fall on the man who has committed the crime. His description of her reaction recalls the feelings of Chimène when she thinks that Don Sanche has killed Rodrigue (*Le Cid*, V, 5) :

Grimoald inconstant n'a plus pour vous de charmes,
Mais Grimoald puni vous coûteroit des larmes.

Et son crime en son sang éteint avec sa vie
Passeroit en celui qui vous auroit servie

(II, 1; 403-4, 407-8).

Making a character profit by the experience of another in a former play is a method which Corneille had used before in *Rodogune*, where Cléopâtre, is given the tact which Médée lacked. The astuteness of Garibalde is not, however, without its historical background, since Paul the Deacon depicts the man as subtle in intrigue and an « artist in deceit » (15). Historically, as in the play, he is actuated by ambition rather than by friendship or love. Failing to persuade Garibalde to punish Grimoald, Edüige requests him to try to win back his love for her. Request to a suitor to display his love by sacrificing it in the interests of the woman he loves is a situation which occurs in *Polyeucte*, IV, 5 and *Théodore*, II, 2. Garibalde is like Placide in his inability to display the unselfish love of which Sévère was capable. Nevertheless the *impasse* in which Garibalde finds himself is somewhat like that of Sévère, and the scenes in which they express their confusion are similar in tone (*Perth.*, II, 2 and *Poly.*, IV, 6). Compare the opening verses :

GARIBALDE.

Quelle confusion ! et quelle tyrannie
M'ordonne d'espérer ce qu'elle me
dénie !

Perth., II, 2 ; 499-500.

SÉVÈRE.

Qu'est-ce-ci, Fabian ? quel nouveau
coup de foudre

Tombe sur mon bonheur, et le réduit
en poudre ?

Poly., IV, 6 ; 1367-8.

(15) *Op. cit* , p. 207.

Grimoald enters (II, 3) and complains of Rodelinde's resistance, which increases in proportion to his love :

Malgré tous mes respects, je vois de jour en jour
Croître sa résistance autant que mon amour

(II, 3; 549-50).

Although he does not mention the fact here, he is at the same time loved by Edüige, whom he in turn dislikes and the words of Placide in a similar situation express his embarrassment :

Je hais qui m'idolâtre, et j'aime qui me fuit,
Et je poursuis en vain, ainsi qu'on me poursuit.

Théodore, I, 1; 85-6.

Grimoald will make a last attempt by trying to appeal to Rodelinde through interest in her son, after which, if this fail, he will give her up :

Si l'intérêt d'un fils ne la rend moins farouche,
Désormais je renonce à l'espoir d'amollir
Un cœur que tant d'efforts ne font qu'enorgueillir.

Perth., II, 3; 552-4

He is thus differentiated from Placide, who never shows a willingness to give up hope of winning the woman he loves, and Pyrrhus in *Andromaque* will later resemble the latter in this respect. Unulphe, the historical friend of Pertharite, reports a conference with Rodelinde (II, 4), in which he has interceded with her in Grimoald's behalf, thus playing a rôle similar to that of Cléobule in *Théodore*. Rodelinde now tries to appeal to the better side of Grimoald, citing the virtues of Auguste, which she hopes he will emulate (II, 5). Although the ruler now resists, yet in the end he will yield and display a magnanimity equal to that of the Roman emperor of Corneille's play. If Rodelinde speaks of his « hautes vertus », she is but following the historical account, for Paul speaks of him as « a king who desired in his heart to do good » (16).

The third act is developed largely from motifs used in *Héraclius*. Rodelinde depicts Grimoald as a second Phocas, desiring to strengthen his claim to the throne through an alliance

(16) *Op. cit.*, p. 213 (V, ii).

with the family of the man whom he has deposed, and planning to put to death the son of Pertharite, who is the rightful heir to the throne, just as Phocas planned the death of Héraclius. When Pertharite returns, he is treated as an impostor, a situation somewhat similar to that in which Martian and Héraclius both claim to be heirs to the throne, and, hence, one is making false claims.

The threat to kill the son of Rodelinde in case she refuses to marry Grimoald (III, 1) is, of course, unhistorical, as is also the meeting of Edüige and Rodelinde (III, 2). The proposition of Rodelinde that Grimoald kill her son (III, 3) so that his tyranny may be seen by all in its true light and bring about a revolt against him as a usurper is somewhat similar to the willingness of Médée to slay her own children as a last means of avenging herself on the man who has wronged her. If at first her proposal seems only a ruse, her sincerity becomes more convincing when she explains her belief that Grimoald intends ultimately to put her son out of the way after his marriage to her and the birth of a son whom the people will be willing to accept as the rightful heir to the throne. She therefore seems to prefer to sacrifice her son at once in order to thwart the ambitions of her enemy. At this moment Pertharite unexpectedly returns. The effect of the *reconnaissance* is heightened by the fact that he has been considered dead, an invention of the dramatist. He declares that he has no intention of trying to regain his throne, for he says to Grimoald :

Règne sur mes États que le ciel t'a soumis
(III, 4 ; 1029).

His unkingly bearing is attested by Paul the Deacon, who says that when Perctarit came into the presence of Grimuald, he was about to fall on his knees, but that the « king graciously held him back and raised him up to receive his kiss » (17). His request that his wife be restored to him is not mentioned by Paul. She was held a captive at Beneventum, while Perctarit remained as guest of Grimuald, content to accept favors from the man who had dispossessed him of his kingdom. The con-

(17) *Op. cit.*, p. 210 (V, ii).

fusion of Grimoald in determining whether the man before him is Pertharite or an impostor recalls that of Phocas in trying to ascertain the identity of his son (*Héraclius*, IV, 4). The replies of Rodelinde in answer to the question as to whether the man is in reality her husband serve only to increase the usurper's confusion and seem intended to produce that effect, as were the replies of Léontine to Phocas. The readings of the first edition bear out this point better than those of later editions :

GRIM. Mais dites-nous enfin.... Rod. [Que veux-tu que je die ?]
C'est lui, ce n'est pas lui: c'est ce que tu voudras (18).

Again, in the first edition Rodelinde expressed doubts as to the identity of Pertharite, since his unkingly bearing would mark him as an impostor :

Non, c'est un imposteur,
Il en a tous les traits, et n'en a pas le cœur ;
Et du moins si c'est lui quand je vois son visage,
Soudain ce n'est pas lui quand j'entends son langage (19).

Likewise Pulchérie expresses her doubts as to the identity of her brother Héraclius because of his bearing, which seems to lack the qualities of a prince (*Héraclius*, V, 2). In Scene 5 Grimoald threatens Pertharite with the scaffold, as Phocas had threatened to kill the returned Héraclius. As Phocas in the last extremity commanded Pulchérie to determine which of the two men was her brother and which his son, so Grimoald sends Garibalde to Edüige to learn whether the man in question is her brother :

Toi, va voir Édüige, et tâche à tirer d'elle
Dans ces obscurités quelque clarté fidèle (20).

Garibalde sees in the return of Pertharite a blow to his ambitions (III, 6) and describes it as a thunderbolt, as did Sévère the reversal of his fortunes :

(18) *Var.* (1653-56) after verse 1061, M.-L., VI, 65, n. 2.

(19) *Var.* (1653-56) to III, 4 ; 1061 ff.

(20) *Var.* (1653-64) to III, 5 ; 1099-1100.

GARIBALDE.

SÉVÈRE.

Quel revers imprévu ! quel éclat de
tonnerre

Jette en moins d'un moment tout mon
espoir par terre !

Perth., III, 6 ; 1103-4.

Qu'est-ce-ci, Fabian ? quel nouveau
coup de foudre

Tombe sur mon bonheur, et le réduit
en poudre ?

Poly., IV, 6 ; 1367-8.

He fears that his means of betraying Grimoald has been lost :

Je n'ai rien à venger, et ne puis le trahir,
S'il m'ôte les moyens de le faire haïr

(III, 6 ; 1109-10).

Paul depicts him as a traitor, first to Godepert, whose confidence he wins only to accomplish his death, and then to Grimoald, whom he defrauds while acting as his ambassador to Godepert :

[Garipald] also committed a fraud in his embassy, since he had not transmitted whole and entire the gifts he ought to have brought to Beneventum [*i. e.* the first capital of Grimoald] (21).

Scenes 1-3 of act IV are historical in that they depict Grimoald as fearful of an uprising in favor of Pertharite and desirous to put the latter to death. The kingly bearing which Pertharite assumes in scene 4 is contrary to the source, and scene 5, between husband and wife, recalls a similar situation in *Polyeucte*.

Garibalde plays his historical rôle of false friend of Grimoald and tries to induce him to kill Pertharite (IV, 1). He secretly hopes thereby to cause the ruler to fall into disfavor with the people and thus further his own ambitions to become king. Garibalde's rôle in counselling the ruler to act in a way which will prove to his disadvantage is, therefore, similar to that of Cinna. When Grimoald offers to return to Edüige on condition that she will declare her brother an impostor (IV, 2), she displays a nobleness of character in refusing to do so which is not borne out by the source ; for, as soon as Perctarit fled from his kingdom, his sister married the usurper Grimoald (22). Scene 3 portrays Grimoald's fears of an uprising in favor of Pertharite.

(21) *Op. cit.*, p. 207 (IV, li).

(22) Paul the Deacon, V, i.

rite. In allowing Unulphe to warn the king, Corneille gives a false impression of his historical rôle as a friend of Perctarit, for it was he who devised a means for the latter to escape when Grimoald sought to kill him (23). Unulphe says that the people gather round Pertharite whom they recognize :

UNULPHE.

Il est de mon devoir
De vous dire, Seigneur, que chacun le
vient voir.
J'ai permis à fort peu de lui rendre
visite ;
Mais tous l'ont reconnu pour le vrai
Pertharite.

Perth., IV, 3 ; 1301-4.

But when Perctarit had come to the dwelling prepared for him by the king, presently throngs of the citizens of Ticinum began to gather around him, to see him and salute him as an old acquaintance. Paul the Deacon, 210-11 (V, ii).

Garibalde represents the « wicked flatterers » of Paul the Deacon, who misinterpret the intentions of Perctarit and counsel his death. Compare *Pertharite*, IV, 3 ; 1307-9, 1321-2 with :

But what cannot an evil tongue interpret? For presently certain wicked flatterers coming to the king declared to him that unless he quickly deprived Perctarit of life, he would himself at once lose his kingdom with his life, asserting that the whole city had gathered around Perctarit for this purpose (24).

Grimoald allows himself to be persuaded to plan the death of Pertharite :

GRIMOALD.

Oui, je te croirai, duc ; et dès demain
sa tête,
Abattue à mes pieds, calmera la
tempête.

Perth., IV, 3 ; 1323-4.

When he heard these things, Grimoald became too credulous and forgetting what he had promised, he was straightway incited to the murder of the innocent Perctarit and took counsel in what way he might deprive him of life.

Paul the Deacon, 211 (V, ii).

When, however, he expresses a desire to see Rodelinde again, Garibalde warns against so doing, saying that her tears will turn him from his resolution :

Ses pleurs vous toucheront

(IV, 3 ; 1329).

(23) *Ibid.*, V, ii.

(24) *Ibid.*

Corneille had made use of the fact that a woman's tears are her most potent argument in *Polyeucte* (IV, 1 ; 1086), where the hero exclaims :

Je craignois beaucoup moins tes bourreaux que ses larmes.

He here shows Grimoald confident of victory over love,

Je n'en crains point les feux ;
Ils ont peu de pouvoir quand l'âme est résolue.
(IV, 3 ; 1330-1),

and at the same time betraying weakness by wishing to see again the woman he loves, a situation which has no parallel in Corneille's previous plays, but which is used so effectively later in Racine's *Andromaque* (24).

In scene 4 Pertharite unexpectedly assumes a kingly bearing in the presence of Grimoald, a departure from the source, and in consequence Rodelinde accords recognition to her husband, which she has hitherto withheld. In the first edition she had said :

Je connois mon époux à ces illustres marques :
C'est lui, c'est le vrai sang de nos premiers monarques
(var. to IV, 4 ; 1371-2).

Pulchérie, as has been said, expressed the thought that rank is revealed through personal bearing (*Héraclius*, V, 2), but she was kept in doubt as to her brother's identity until the introduction of the documentary evidence of a letter. Scene 5, between a faithful wife, whose hand is sought by another, and a husband condemned to die, is based on *Polyeucte*. Pertharite shows the magnanimity of Polyeucte in advising Rodelinde to marry the man who loves her :

PERTHARITE.

POLYEUCTE.

Aimez plutôt, Madame, un vainqueur
qui vous aime.

Vivez avec Sévère.

Poly., V, 3 ; 1584.

Perth., IV, 5 ; 1420.

(24) Cf. *Andromaque*, II, 5 with *Pertharite*, IV, 3 ; 1323-36 and note that Phœnix tries to dissuade Pyrrhus from seeing *Andromaque* as Garibalde urges Grimoald not to see Rodelinde again.

Rodelinde feels sorely aggrieved, as did Pauline, at the failure of her husband to comprehend the depth of her devotion to him. Instead of regarding the proposal as generous, both women feel pierced to the heart :

RODELINDE.

... N'achève point un discours qui me tue.

Perth., IV, 5; 1460

PAULINE.

Tigre, assassine-moi du moins sans m'outrager.

Poly., V, 3; 1585.

Furthermore, the thought of condoning the death of a loved one is revolting to Rodelinde as it had been to Camille (*Horace*) and to Massinisse in Mairet's *Sophonisbe*, and the words of the three are similar :

RODELINDE.

Pour baiser une main fumante de ton sang....

Perth., IV, 5; 1470.

CAMILLE.

Et baiser une main qui me perce le cœur....

Hor., IV, 4; 1234.

MASSINISSE.

Où si je baiserais le bras qui m'assassine?

Mairet, *Soph.*, V, 2; 1541.

The act ends with a scene in which husband and wife give each other assurance of their devotion.

The fifth act follows Paul the Deacon in depicting the escape of Pertharite with the help of Unulphe, the union of Grimoald and a sister of Pertharite, and the revelation of the real character of Grimoald with its tendency toward magnanimity. Unhistorical are the return of Pertharite after his flight, the death of Garibalde by the former's hand, and the restoration of Pertharite to the throne. The dénouement is like that of *Cinna* and *Nicomède* in the display of magnanimity and the subsequent winning over of enemies, but it is justified by the source and cannot be said to be due to a desire to follow these two plays.

Corneille follows his source in allowing Pertharite to escape from Grimoald with the aid of Unulphe, who says that he has thereby saved the king from sullying his honor by committing a crime (V, 1; 1524-30). A similar observation is made by the historian :

Thus God Almighty by His merciful arrangement delivered an innocent man [Perctarit] from death and kept from offense a king [Grimoald] who desired in his heart to do good (25).

Edüige now tries to appeal to the better impulses of Grimoald, who says that he would be willing to restore the crown to Pertharite, but hesitates to do so since he would thereby lose the love of Edüige, who he thinks would not marry a man without a throne. He speaks of the sacrifice of the crown as an act of conquering himself, and of following the path of virtue. Compare the advice of Livie to Auguste :

GRIMOALD.

Je me vaincrois moi-même, et lui rendant l'État,
Je mettrois ma vertu dans son plus haut éclat.

Perth., V, 2; 1617-8.

LIVIE [à Auguste].

C'est régner sur vous-même, et par un noble choix,
Pratiquer la vertu la plus digne des rois.

Cinna, IV, 3; 1243-4.

Edüige assures Grimoald that he may count on her esteem for him if he will follow his best impulses, even though it cost him the throne. Scene 3 is Corneille's invention. It shows the irate Rodelinde, who accuses Grimoald falsely and gives Edüige an opportunity to defend the man she loves. A soldier enters (V, 4) and recounts the death of Garibalde by the hand of Pertharite. Paul said that he died before the time of the play and was killed by a dwarf in revenge for the death of Godepert (26). The return of Pertharite is announced, much to the regret of Grimoald, who feels that his struggle between magnanimity and selfishness is to begin again :

Quel combat pour la seconde fois !

(V, 4, 1765.)

The kingly bearing of Pertharite and his defiance of Grimoald are unhistorical, as has been noted. When the latter says to him,

Mais qui me croit tyran, et hautement me brave,
Quelque foible qu'il soit, n'a point le cœur d'esclave

(V, 5; 1811-12),

(25) Paul the Deacon, p. 213 (V, ii).

(26) *Ibid.*, p. 208 (IV, li).

one does not recognize the deposed king who entered the presence of his conqueror, « attempted to fall down at his feet, » and exclaimed « I am your servant » (27). On the other hand, Grimoald's admiration for valor and greatness of soul (V, 5 ; 1843-4) is attested by the historian. For Paul says that when Unulphe was apprehended, after successfully plotting the escape of his master Perctarit, and brought into the presence of Grimoald,

The king asked those who were standing around and said : « What do you think of this man who has committed such things ? » Then all answered with one voice that he deserved to die, racked with many torments, but the king said : « By Him who caused me to be born this man deserves to be treated well, who for the sake of fidelity to his master did not refuse to give himself up to death » (28).

Hence, Grimoald's admiration for the man who in the play demands his rights as king is in keeping with his historical character, and it is an easy transition to the final step which the hero takes in restoring the kingdom to Pertharite and thus demonstrating that his love of virtue has finally triumphed. With Auguste he could say,

Je suis maître de moi (29).

As in *Cinna* and *Nicomède*, the magnanimity of the hero wins for him admiration of all, and even Rodelinde feels constrained to say to the man who has in vain sought her love :

Mais je n'aurois osé, Seigneur, en présumer
Que vous m'eussiez forcée enfin à vous aimer
(V, 5 ; 1845-6).

In summary : the subject of *Pertharite*, found in Paul the Deacon, was probably chosen because it gave the dramatist an opportunity to write a play with a dénouement similar to that of *Cinna*, and this tragedy, like the preceding ten, may be said to have its origin in the stage of the time. In developing the plot the dramatist drew on his former plays, *Le Cid*, *Cinna*,

(27) *Ibid.* p. 219 (V, ii).

(28) *Ibid.*, 214-5 (V, ii).

(29) *Cinna*, V, 3 ; 1696.

Polyeucte, *Théodore*, and *Héraclius*, and there may be an echo of Rotrou's *Hercule mourant*. The dramatist must not have felt much enthusiasm in reworking old themes, and this together with the fact that the historical background failed to suggest new ideas, contrary to what had happened in the composition of *Nicomède*, may account for the failure of the play. Nevertheless *Pertharite* has an historical importance, since it furnished valuable suggestions for Racine's *Andromaque*.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSIONS

In the preceding pages the view has been set forth that Corneille's tragedies from 1635 to 1651 were inspired either by the contemporary theatre or by the desire to repeat in a new form some previous production of the dramatist. This view is made possible through the recognition of the influence of Rotrou and Mairet on Corneille's decision to turn to the more serious form in *Médée*, through the latter's play as the source of inspiration of *Horace*, through the discovery of two neglected dramatic sources, Scudéry's *Mort de César* and Du Ryer's *Bérénice*, and through the probability that the subjects of *Rodogune* and *Pertharite* were chosen because of the opportunity to present plays similar to certain of the dramatist's previous productions. Other dramatic influences have been known, notably the vogue of Spanish subjects, the reawakening of interest in religious plays, Bartolommei's theatre as suggesting the subjects of *Polyeucte* and *Théodore*, and Rotrou's *Cosroès* that of *Nicomède*. As a consequence of the discovery of new sources it is now clear that much has hitherto been erroneously ascribed to Corneille's invention, notably the theme of patriotism in *Horace* and the rôles of Sabine and Emilie. Moreover, it must be recognized that knowledge of contemporary plays rather than of ancient literature suggested the subjects of his plays, though it is probable that much study was required among ancient authorities after the selection of a subject.

The influence of Aristotle and the Italian doctrinaires has been overestimated. It is true that Placide of *Théodore* approaches more closely the ideal tragic hero of Aristotle than any of the dramatist's previous creations, but this may be mere coincidence. Again, with the recognition of the influence in *Horace* of Dionysius and of an incident in the life of Augustus, we see that Corneille was amply justified in observing the strict unity of place in this play and that he was not forced to abandon verisimilitude in depicting Roman customs and manners. His reply to his opponents in the *Cid* quarrel was of a nature hitherto overlooked. It has been said that *Horace* was written for the purpose of showing the *réguliers* that the dramatist could conform to the rules when he so desired. It is truer that he answered his critics with two plays, based respectively on those of his two chief opponents in the *Cid* quarrel, and that the success of these plays silenced carping criticism.

When Corneille wrote his opening scenes, he would generally think of some striking situation previously dramatized. This can best be seen in the tragedies based on history. *Horace* opens with a scene suggested by Mairet's *Sophonisbe*; *Cinna*, *Polyeucte*, and perhaps *Pompée*, with scenes suggested by Scudéry's *Mort de César*; *Rodogune* opens on the wedding day of the rival, as does *Médée*; *Héraclius* and *Pertharite*, with situations similar to those of *Cinna* and *Polyeucte*, respectively. In *Théodore* this is not so clearly the case, although Placide's attitude toward Marcelle in the first scene suggests that of Jason toward Médée. It might be added that the opening scene of act III of *Héraclius* follows closely a striking scene in Du Ryer's *Bérénice*. In characterization Corneille frequently drew on his previous creations: Cléopâtre (*Rodogune*) and Marcelle owe much to Médée, Marcelle much to Cléopâtre, Pauline was drawn on for Rodogune and Rodelinde, Auguste for Phocas and Grimoald, and Phocas for Grimoald. That wilful characters predominate in the tragedies of this period is true, but that Corneille made a deliberate choice of them is difficult to prove, since the sources in most cases furnished characters of this type and these sources in turn either were suggested by contemporary plays or were chosen because they gave the

dramatist opportunity to repeat a former production. In writing the early tragedies, in which Corneille may be said to have found himself, the sources offered him characters in whom the will predominated over love or family ties : Medea, Jimena, Rodrigo, and Horatius. On the other hand, the sources of *Horace* presented the prototype of Camille, whose love proved supreme, and it was the story of the two lovers in Mairet's play which attracted Corneille to his sources in Dionysius and Livy. In *Cinna* Corneille was drawn to his source, depicting the victory of Augustus over self, by his opponent's play, and his choice was determined in great part by a desire to outdo his rival. In *Nicomède*, perhaps, we first find evidence of a deliberate choice of a wilful character in the substitution of Mithridates the Great as prototype of the hero in place of the weak Nicomedes II ; but even here, the case is somewhat obscured by the fact that the theme of resistance to Rome was chosen through the adoption of an incident in the life of Attalus : hence, the necessity of representing the hero as strong.

In developing the plots, certain tendencies may be seen. The rôle of rejected lover, which occurs in all plays but *Pompée*, was the dramatist's invention, except in *Théodore* and *Héraclius* where the sources suggested it. When he found the rejected lover in a source of *Théodore*, he added two more, Flavie and Didyme, and arranged them in a series, a device found in many pastoral plays ; and later in *Pertharite* he repeated the chain of rejected lovers. Episodic rôles and incidents seem due to the dramatist's unwillingness to suppress certain details of the sources. *Ægée*, the Infante, and Sabine, found respectively in the first three tragedies, are striking instances of this nature. In two cases characters seem to profit by the experiences of their prototypes : Cléopâtre (*Rodogune*) possesses the tact which Nérine counseled Médée to display, and Garibalde (*Pertharite*) knows more of feminine psychology than to be deceived as was Don Sanche (*Le Cid*) when promised the hand of the woman he loved if he would slay her offending lover.

Several motifs are of frequent occurrence. The theme of re-

venge, found in the sources of *Médée*, *Le Cid*, *Horace*, and *Cinna*, was added in all other tragedies except *Polyeucte* and *Nicomède*. A woman will frequently offer her hand as price of the death of the offender, the « tête » motif, found in Guillén de Castro and used first in *Le Cid*. As a variant of this Cléopâtre (*Rodogune*) offered the throne to the one of her sons who would slay the captive princess. Another favorite motif is the consolation offered to one who is unfortunate in love, urging him to seek another object of his affections. This was found by the dramatist in Mairet's *Sophonisbe*.

In his use of history, about which so much has been written, Corneille drew extensively on his sources, preferring fact to invention. He did not confine himself strictly to historic fact, but frequently supplied missing links through the use of the incidents of a paragraph or a chapter preceding or following the story on which his plot was based. For instance, the suggestion for the marriage of the captive Parthian princess to the future ruler of Syria in *Rodogune* came from an incident in which the captive Syrian princess married the Parthian ruler. When Corneille wrote *Cinna* with Scudéry's play before him, he searched the historians until he found prototypes for characters corresponding to those of Scudéry's play but not found in the incident in Seneca, which was his chief source. Although the characterization of Emilie is based on Scudéry's Porcie primarily, yet she has her historical justification, since she is the daughter of Toranius and appears in Appian; and although history tells us little about her, yet it is not contrary to verisimilitude that she should try to avenge her father's death. Corneille did not change history in as many instances as he has been credited with. His picture of Auguste has been shown to rest on Seneca and Suetonius and not on Tacitus, so that it denotes merely a choice among divergent opinions. The relationship of Cléopâtre (*Rodogune*) to the Egyptian ruler, although unhistorical, is nevertheless based on an error in one of Corneille's historical sources. The « hardie entreprise sur l'histoire » of which Corneille speaks in writing of *Héraclius* has been shown to have its parallel in Mira de Mescua, a source of the play. On the whole Corneille seems to have read his

sources carefully, choosing among divergent opinions, excluding that which seemed undramatic or offensive to the *bien-séances*, transposing incidents, and filling in from historic fact the missing links of his narrative. If one searches long enough in the historians, one may hope to find details which have hitherto been attributed to the dramatist's invention.

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